



# HEALTHE VANGUARD

#### **Mark McDonald**

The Metropolitan Museum of Art
New York



PRIMERA CONVENCION NACIONAL DE AMIGOS DE LA U. R. S. S. 22 AL 25 DE JUNIO

INAUGURACION SOLEMNE 22 DE JUNIO A LAS 20 HS. EN EL

TEATRO DEL SINDICATO MEXICANO DE ELECTRICISTAS

ENTRADA PERSONAL: \$ 0.50

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#### **DIRECTOR'S NOTE**

The collections at The Met are fascinatingly far-reaching in time and place and extraordinarily diverse in medium, authorship, and agenda. Illuminating surprising discoveries within core areas is one of the great privileges and satisfying activities of our museum work. The Met's remarkable holdings of almost two thousand Mexican prints spanning the mid-eighteenth to the mid-twentieth century is a prime example. Notably, this collection was not shaped by generations of scholars and donors but formed through the agency of a French-born artist, Jean Charlot, who lived and worked in Mexico and New York in the early twentieth century. Most of the Mexican prints at The Met came directly from the artists and publishers with whom Charlot had close working and personal relationships.

Many of these extraordinary prints have never been exhibited before, and the impetus for the exhibition this *Bulletin* accompanies derives from recent efforts to catalogue this material and make it available on the Museum's website. These treasures testify to the vibrant tradition of the graphic arts in Mexico, where printmaking has specific and ongoing resonance and relevance. Prints have long been the preferred media for artists to challenge and support social and political issues. As such, printmaking

provides a visual record of Mexican history, especially that of the twentieth century. Prints also capture Mexico's rich artistic heritage: its dress and customs, Indigenous traditions, and ancient past.

This Bulletin was prepared in conjunction with the exhibition Mexican Prints at the Vanguard, on view from September 12, 2024, through January 5, 2025. We are grateful to the Hispanic Society of America, New York, for the loan of a print. The exhibition was organized by Mark McDonald, Curator in the Department of Drawings and Prints. The quarterly Bulletin program is made possible, in part, by the Lila Acheson Wallace Fund for The Metropolitan Museum of Art, established by the cofounder of Reader's Digest, and this issue benefits from a gift from Allston Chapman. The exhibition is generously supported by Jessie and Charles Price, with additional funding from The Schiff Foundation and The Met Americas Council. Each of these benefactors has my deep gratitude for recognizing the merits of this project and allowing The Met to present these stunning works to our audiences.

#### Max Hollein

Marina Kellen French Director and CEO The Metropolitan Museum of Art

#### JOSÉ GUADALUPE POSADA (1852-1913)

has often been described as the progenitor of printmaking in Mexico. His animated skeletons engaged in different activities—frequently deployed as social critique—have become something of a benchmark for establishing the global identity of Mexican art (fig. 1). Posada's enormous appeal also resides in the close association of his imagery with the Day of the Dead celebrations held to honor the departed in early November every year in Mexico and elsewhere. Despite their ubiquity, Posada's prints are only one part of an immensely rich story of printmaking in Mexico, the country that has the oldest such tradition in the Americas. Prints embody Mexico's political, social, and artistic depth and engage with the country's long history. By operating as active agents in the narratives they promote, prints themselves have instigated change, shaping the competing politics, identities, and collective memories of Mexico.

The first press was established in 1539 near the Zócalo—the heart of ancient and modern Mexico City—with materials provided by the publishing firm of Juan Cromberger in Seville, Spain. During the early years, woodcuts and engravings, mainly of religious subjects, were employed for book illustration. As printmaking became widespread, prints came to serve very different

needs, as demonstrated by a thesis proclamation printed on silk from 1756 (fig. 2). Works such as this one are exceptional and cannot be considered representative of quotidian practice, but they indicate the reach of printmaking and the range of its uses. The founding of the Academia de San Carlos in Mexico City in 1781 had significant consequences for printmaking. Following a European model, engraving was part of the curriculum, and in 1831 lithography was introduced to the program. Lithographic workshops soon began producing high-quality prints of subjects that included Mexican topography, dress, and customs for both local and international markets (fig. 3).

By the mid-nineteenth century, printmaking in Mexico increasingly had assumed a social purpose, attending to events of the day that were often viewed through a satirical lens (fig. 4). Early prints generally survive in low numbers, and there is no evidence that they were collected until the twentieth century. The impulse to preserve them developed alongside the inexorable growth of printmaking, especially after the 1910–20 Mexican Revolution, when prints came to serve a broader democratic political agenda that sought to educate Mexicans through art. Art and politics then became inseparable. Prints perfectly suited ideology and ambition: they







Opposite page, left. 1. José Guadalupe Posada (Mexican, 1852–1913) and Manuel Manilla (Mexican, ca. 1830–1895), In proof of true love, ca. 1890–96. Published by Antonio Vanegas Arroyo, Mexico City. Type-metal engraving and letterpress, 15%  $\times$  11½6 in. (40  $\times$  30 cm). The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1946 (46.46.311)

Opposite page, right. 2. Baltasar Troncoso y Sotomayor (Mexican, 1725–1791), Thesis proclamation of José Vicente Maldonado y Trespalacios, 1756. Published by heirs of María de Rivera, Mexico City. Woodcut, letterpress, and engraving printed on silk with a metallic thread border, 26% × 19% in. (67.6 × 48.5 cm). The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1946 (46.46.559)

Top. 3. Juan Campillo (Mexican, active 19th century) and Casimiro Castro (Mexican, 1826–1889), plate XXI from México y sus alrededores. Colección de monumentos, trajes y paisajes (Mexico and its surroundings. Collection of monuments, dress, and landscapes), 1855–56. Published by Decaen, Mexico City. Lithograph, 12% × 185% in. (32 × 46.5 cm). The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1946 (46.46.547)

Bottom. 4. F. Piquete (Mexican, active 1870s), *El pueblo merece malos gobernantes cuando los tolera (People deserve bad political leaders when they tolerate them*), caricature no. 46 from *San Baltasar*, July 1873. Lithograph,  $11\% \times 7\%$  in. (29.8 × 20 cm). The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1946 (46.46.546)



were cheap, created in multiples, and easily disseminated, thereby differentiating them from easel painting, which came to be regarded as reflecting "bourgeois individualism." <sup>5</sup>

During the revolution, Mexican identity became a pressing concern. The importance of the country's pre-Hispanic civilization, which had largely been suppressed, was an area of renewed interest, with Indigenous Mexican traditions increasingly recognized and celebrated. Prints embodied these concerns and came to occupy a critical position at the intersection of art, politics, and social reform. Because of the caliber and commitment of the artists involved and their exploration of subjects that transcended local significance, the prints resonated with audiences well beyond Mexico. These are just some of the reasons why Mexican prints have become sought-after objects of intense interest, subjects explored here and in the exhibition this *Bulletin* accompanies.

#### Mexico to New York

Among the lesser-known collections at The Met is a group of almost two thousand Mexican prints and illustrated books. The material spans the years from about 1740 to the 1950s, with the greatest concentration of work created after the late nineteenth century. The collection is distinguished by the number of rare and even unique works in very good condition. Notably, it was not shaped by generations of curators and donors but formed largely through the agency of an individual, Jean Charlot (1898–1979), whose peripatetic life, practice as an artist, and intellectual preoccupations brought him into contact with Met curators in the late 1920s (fig. 5). Charlot connected with The Met in three ways: as a generous donor of his own work and that of other artists, through encouraging artists to give their work, and as an agent for the Museum, buying Mexican art at its point of origin. Charlot spent most of the 1920s in Mexico City, where he worked as an artist, writer, and teacher. Through the friendships Charlot formed with artists, he had unique access to their work, and the character of the collection at The Met very much reflects these relationships.

The charting of Charlot's beginnings as an artist in Paris and then in Mexico, as well as his subsequent career in the United States, is facilitated by abundant documentation in the form of letters, his personal diaries, and publications. Little is known, however, about Charlot's long relationship with The Met. An overview of his early years allows us to understand the trajectory of his interests and how they contributed to his promotion of prints and the values he felt they embodied.

He was born Louis Henri Jean Charlot in Paris. His grandfather Louis Goupil was born in Mexico, and his great-uncle Eugène Goupil was a collector of Mexican art.

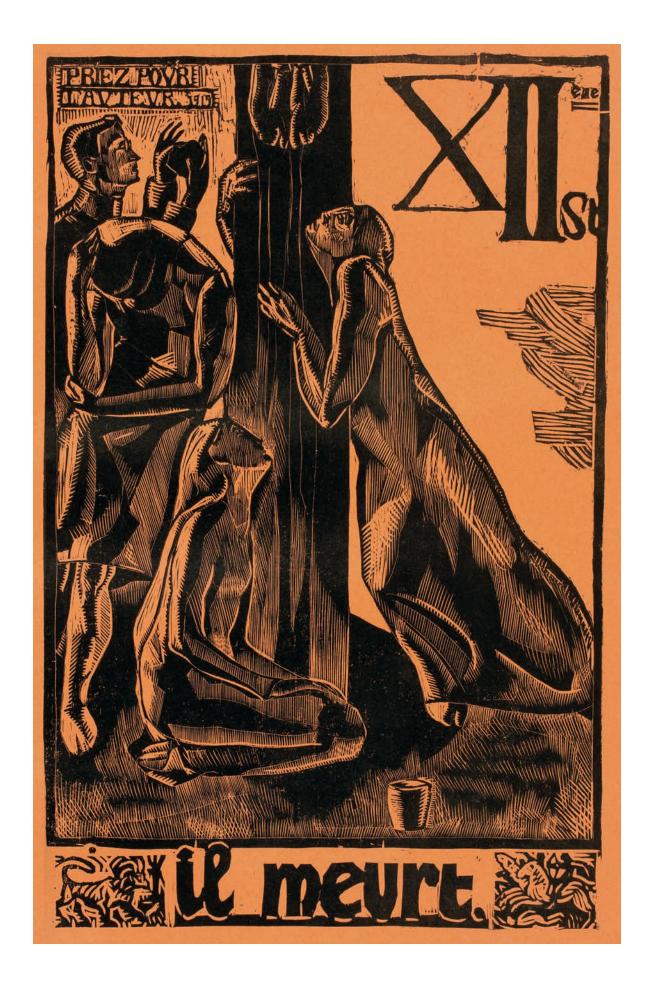


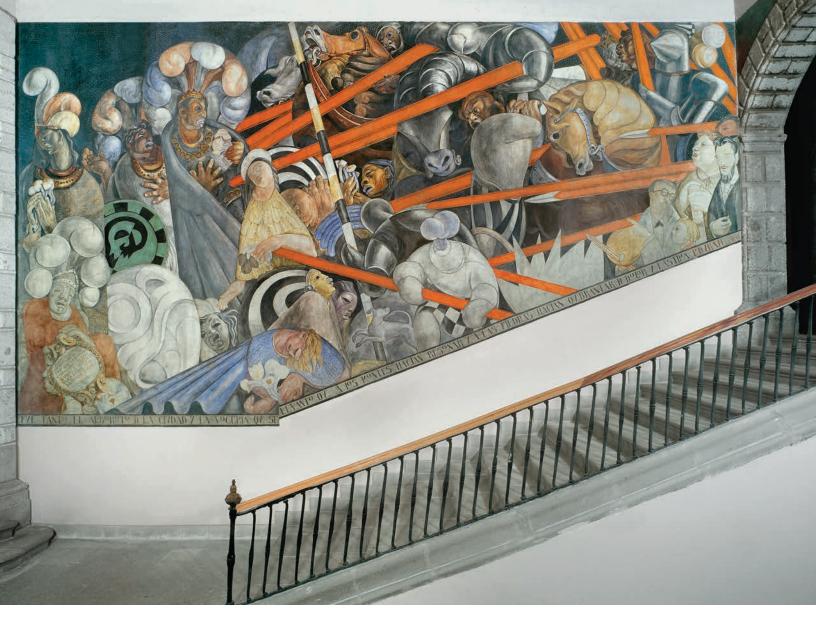
5. Tina Modotti (Italian, 1896–1942), Jean Charlot, ca. 1923. Gelatin silver print, 9%6 × 7%6 in. (24 × 18 cm). Jean Charlot Collection, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa Library, Honolulu, Founding Collection Gift of Zohmah Charlot (1981.501.798)

Opposite page. 6. Jean Charlot (French, 1898–1979), *Il meurt (He dies*), station XII, from *Chemin de Croix (Stations of the Cross*), 1918–20. Woodcut, first edition, 17 × 11 in. (43.2 × 27.9 cm). Jean Charlot Collection, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa Library, Honolulu, Gift of a Charlot Family Member, 2021 (2021.019.109)

In Charlot's own estimation, being surrounded by this material as a child had an enormous influence on the development of his artistic sensibilities. Charlot studied at the École des Beaux-Arts in Paris in 1915, before enlisting in the French Army two years later and becoming an artillery lieutenant in World War I. His first significant foray into printmaking was a series of fifteen large woodcuts, *Chemin de Croix* (*Stations of the Cross*), created in France and Germany in 1918–20 (fig. 6).

Charlot and his mother, Anne Goupil Charlot, left France from the Atlantic port of Saint-Nazaire on December 31, 1920, arriving in Veracruz, Mexico, on January 23, 1921. They continued to Mexico City, where they remained until returning to Paris on May 6 the same year. On November 24, 1921, they went back to Mexico, where they would stay until late 1928. 11 Shortly after his





arrival, Charlot shared a studio in Coyoacán (then a village outside Mexico City) with the artist Fernando Leal (1896-1964), and, a year later, in 1922, Charlot became an assistant to the muralist Diego Rivera (1886–1957). This was at the time the Mexican government began sponsoring artists to adorn public buildings with murals that celebrated the forging of the Mexican nation, beginning with the incursions of the Spanish and culminating in the revolution of 1910. 12 Mobilized by the revolution, the "renaissance" of Mexican art—as it is sometimes described—recognized multiple and diverse artistic traditions and the freedom to develop individual styles, in contrast to the prior adherence to the aesthetic traditions of Europe. 13 The visual arts were incorporated to a striking degree in notions of how to construct a modern nation, a central preoccupation of revolutionary thinking. The ambitious mural program that evolved in Mexico during the 1920s is one expression of this blossoming, printmaking is another. 14

Charlot fully immersed himself in the vibrant world of Mexican postrevolutionary art, and he established lasting friendships with writers, poets, and artists; among the artists, Xavier Guerrero (1896–1974), David Alfaro Siqueiros (1896–1974), José Clemente Orozco (1883–1949), Emilio Amero (1901–1976), and Ramón Alva de la Canal (1892–1985) were all active muralists and printmakers. In 1922–23, Charlot painted his first independent mural, *Massacre at the Templo Mayor*, at the Antiguo Colegio de San Ildefonso (Escuela Nacional Preparatoria) (fig. 7), where it is positioned directly across from Leal's *The Feast of the Lord of Chalma*. <sup>15</sup> A formal modernist composition, Charlot's mural depicts the gruesome slaying of Aztec people by Spanish forces led by Hernán Cortés in the capital city of Tenochtitlan in 1519.

Alongside his work as a muralist, Charlot created woodcuts for books, compilations of poetry, and periodicals. <sup>16</sup> Before he arrived in Mexico, woodcut was not widely practiced by local artists, and it was a medium

7. Jean Charlot, Massacre at the Templo Mayor, 1922–23. Encaustic. Stairway, west court, Antiguo Colegio de San Ildefonso (Escuela Nacional Preparatoria), Mexico City

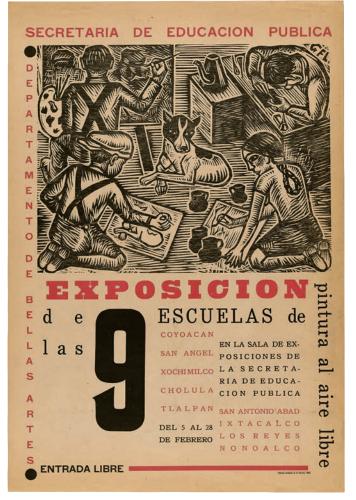
ignored by the academy. Charlot became the key figure in its efflorescence. He gave a set of the *Stations of the Cross* woodcuts to the librarian at the Escuela Nacional de Bellas Artes, who showed them to artists in Coyoacán. They had quite an effect, providing artists with an alternative to traditional academic methods and enabling them to embrace new modernist ideologies. <sup>17</sup> In Coyoacán, Charlot began to teach classes on woodcut at the Open-Air Painting School while continuing to produce his own work. <sup>18</sup> Established in villages and towns around Mexico City in the early 1920s, these schools were the result of a government policy to instruct Indigenous

and working-class children, and to encourage a unified national culture. <sup>19</sup> Because woodcut did not require arduous or specialized training, it perfectly suited students' needs. Remarkable prints were created (fig. 8) and exhibitions of them organized (fig. 9); they stand as testimonies to the efficacy of the technique and its broad appeal.

Woodcut also became the principal medium for newspaper illustration, superseding lithography, which had dominated in the previous century. The best example to illustrate this point is *El Machete*, the organ of the Union of Technical Workers, Painters, and Sculptors. It was first published in early 1924, and by November the same year, it had become the official paper of the Communist Party. Its executive committee consisted of Rivera, Siqueiros, and Guerrero, who resolved to work collectively and support the popular classes in their



8. María Marín de Orozco (Mexican, 1887–1990), Head of a young woman, ca. 1924, from the portfolio Los pequeños grabadores en madera, alumnos de la Escuela Preparatoria de Jalisco (The young printmakers: students from the preparatory school of Jalisco), 1925. Published in Guadalajara, Mexico. Woodcut and letterpress, 111% × 9% in. (30 × 23 cm). Gift of Jean Charlot, 1929 (29.101.19(8))



9. Gabriel Fernández Ledesma (Mexican, 1900–1983), Poster for an exhibition of student art from nine open-air painting schools in Mexico, 1929. Published by Talleres Gráficos de la Nación, Mexico City. Lithograph of woodcut,  $26\%6 \times 18\%$  in. (67.5 × 46.4 cm). Gift of Jean Charlot, 1931 (31.91.15)



10. David Alfaro Siqueiros (Mexican, 1896–1974), masthead from *El Machete*, 1924. Woodcut and letterpress,  $9\%6 \times 18\%6$  in. (23.3  $\times$  46.5 cm). Gift of Jean Charlot, 1930 (30.14.13)

Bottom. 11. Tina Modotti, *Worker reading "El Machete,"* 1928. Gelatin silver print. Courtesy Galerie Bilderwelt and Reinhard Schultz



struggle. Pioneering the graphic representation of the worker, El Machete was designed as a foldout and gave prominence to bold imagery intimately tied to promoting working-class values (fig. 10). It was aimed at a workingclass reader, as styled by Tina Modotti (1896-1942) in several photographs (fig. 11).22 The first issue included a separate broadsheet titled *The Trinity of Scoundrels* with a woodcut by Siqueiros and a satirical ballad (corrido) by his wife, Graciela Amador (fig. 12). Charlot created the woodcut *Rich people in hell* for the newspaper, but it was never published (fig. 13). Some idea of the radical nature of producing and distributing El Machete (and similar material) is conveyed by Guerrero, who describes setting out with Siqueiros and a young helper at four in the morning, when the streetlamps were extinguished, to paste copies on "strategic walls" before retreating. 23 Printed on thin, cheap paper, *El Machete* ostensibly was not meant to last, but there is evidence that the artistic quality of the illustrations was valued. Guerrero, for example, carefully signed and dated an impression on thin Japan paper of his woodcut pertaining to agrarian reform and land ownership (fig. 14).

Charlot's contributions to different publications during the 1920s frame his artistic mission and help to explain his devotion to printmaking while highlighting the differences in his practice and approach to the

<sup>12.</sup> David Alfaro Siqueiros, *The Trinity of Scoundrels*, from *Corridos de "El Machete,"* by Graciela Amador, 1924. Woodcut and letterpress, 26% × 17% in. (67.2 × 45.4 cm). Gift of Jean Charlot, 1930 (30.14.12)

## CORRIDOS DE "EL MACHETE"

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CORRIDO NUMERO

Vale 5 Centavos

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Prólogo de la Farsa Titulada: "La Caída de los Ricos y la Construcción del Nuevo Orden Social"



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13. Jean Charlot, Rich people in hell, 1924. Woodcut, 13  $\times$  10% in. (33  $\times$  27 cm). Gift of John Charlot, 1984 (1984.1182.1)

Opposite page. 14. Xavier Guerrero (Mexican, 1896–1974), Illustration for "El Machete" concerning agrarian reform, 1924. Woodcut on Japan paper,  $16^{15}/_6 \times 21^{1/4}$  in.  $(43 \times 54$  cm). The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1946 (46.46.584)

subject. For example, his cover and six woodcut illustrations for Manuel Maples Arce's Urbe: Super-poema bolchevique en 5 cantos (1924) were inspired by Russian Constructivist design (fig. 15a, b).24 Maples Arce was the leader of Estridentismo (Stridentism), one of Mexico's first avant-garde movements of writers and artists, with whom Charlot became closely involved.<sup>25</sup> *Urbe* was Maples Arce's most celebrated book of poetry, in which he married Stridentism and socialist politics. Through their solid and austere design, Charlot's images interpret the verse through recognizable icons of modernity (ocean liner, train, skyscraper). By embracing innovation in their art, the Stridentists promoted aspects of postrevolutionary life and aimed to overturn tradition and the restrictions of official culture. Woodcut was the perfect medium to define Mexican modernity. As an inexpensive process that could be used to produce multiples, it was thereby democratic by virtue of not being the

preserve of the few. And, as we have seen, it revolutionized local artistic production. <sup>26</sup> Charlot's woodcuts were regarded as the most compelling expression of the group's aims and helped to establish a new graphic sensibility in Mexico. <sup>27</sup>

Charlot's work for other publications demonstrates his increasing preeminence. Between 1924 and 1926, he was the art editor of the aptly titled review *Mexican Folkways*, which explored popular culture and customs of the Mexican people. He also wrote articles for *Forma: Revista de artes plásticas* (founded in late 1926), issues of which included his own woodcuts and those by Fernando Leal and Gabriel Fernández Ledesma (1900–1983), among others. In addition, he began working on a catalogue raisonné of prints by Posada, an artist he held in great esteem and whose work he collected. This project involved taking impressions from the surviving matrices that were owned by the Vanegas Arroyo publishing firm,



established by Antonio Vanegas Arroyo in 1880. In August 1925, Charlot published his first article on Posada, helping to recuperate the artist's reputation, which had been largely forgotten, and to reestablish Posada's authoritative role in defining the subjects that pertain most idiomatically to Mexican art.<sup>28</sup>

In 1926, Charlot was appointed staff artist to the Carnegie Institution's archaeological expedition to Chichén Itzá in Yucatán; he would retain the position until 1928.<sup>29</sup> As the site was excavated, he copied the basreliefs and murals (before their polychromy faded) in pen, ink, and watercolor. The drawings provided the basis for lithographic illustrations in a two-volume publication, for which Charlot also wrote a substantial text on the basreliefs from the Temple of the Warriors.<sup>30</sup> Charlot's work at Chichén Itzá, as well as his interest in Maya culture, was central to his development as an artist and his sensibilities as a writer. There is an unambiguous connection

between the technique and palette of his archaeological illustrations and his own prints rendered in lithography that he began to produce in the mid-1920s. Charlot's engagement with ancient Mexico, manifested in his articles for *Forma* and *Mexican Life*, reflects the burgeoning interest in the political and cultural capital of these subjects and the recuperation of the region's pre-Hispanic past in postrevolutionary Mexico.<sup>31</sup>

#### New York and The Met

On October 22, 1928, Charlot and his mother departed Mexico for New York. Five days later, they were welcomed by Orozco, who had been in the city since December of the previous year. Charlot and his mother rented an unheated apartment on the top floor of 42 Union Square (the cold apparently contributed to her death from pneumonia in January 1929). 32 Charlot immersed himself in



15a, b. Jean Charlot, cover and *Viaduct*, from *Urbe: Super-poema bolchevique en 5 cantos*, by Manuel Maples Arce, 1924. Published by Andrés Botas e Hijo, Mexico City. Woodcut and letterpress,  $9\%6 \times 13\%6$  in. (23.5  $\times$  34 cm). Gift of Jean Charlot, 1931 (31.91.1)

Opposite page. 16. Jean Charlot, *Great Builders*, 1930. Printed by George C. Miller, New York. Lithograph,  $15\% \times 22\%$  in.  $(40 \times 57.5 \text{ cm})$ . Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1932 (32.21.2)



III

La tarde, acribillada de ventanas flota sobre los hilos del teléfono, y entre los atravesaños inversos de la hora se cuelgan los adioses de las máquinas.

> Su juventud maravillosa estalló una mañana entre mis dedos,



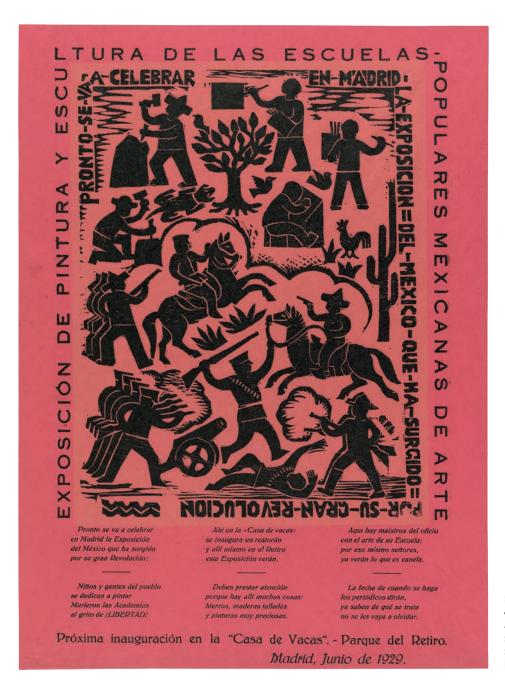
the art world and continued working as an artist. His art was, however, already familiar to New York audiences. The artist and art historian Walter Pach had shown Charlot's paintings alongside drawings by Mexican schoolchildren in an exhibition at the Art Center of New York in 1926 (April 25-May 1). Frances Flynn Paine, a tireless promoter of Mexican culture, had featured a further eighteen of Charlot's works in a group exhibition financed by the Mexican government and John D. Rockefeller and held at the Art Center in 1928 (January 19-February 14).33 As his diaries reveal, Charlot had come to know Pach in Mexico in 1922 and met up with him again in New York.<sup>34</sup> Pach—who lectured regularly at The Met and had close relations with commercial galleries—no doubt introduced Charlot to those he needed to know, which probably included Met staff.35 In 1929, Charlot created the first of a number of lithographs printed by George C. Miller, who worked on commission for the Weyhe Gallery; located near The Met on Lexington Avenue, the gallery also published prints by Mexican artists (fig. 16).36 In 1930, Charlot exhibited 114 works in all media in a solo show at the Art Students League (January 13-25) and sent four paintings

for inclusion in 46 Painters and Sculptors under 35 Years of Age at the Museum of Modern Art (MoMA) (April 11-27).<sup>37</sup>

Soon after arriving in New York, Charlot visited The Met, where he encountered the staff in the Department of Prints (as it was then known). William M. Ivins Jr. was curator, and Alice H. Newlin was assistant. Given Charlot's experience as a printmaker, combined with the fact that his prints were being published and exhibited in New York, it is not surprising that he gravitated toward the Museum. The first record of Charlot's direct liaison with Met staff, on May 28, 1929, is recorded in his diary; on this day, he brought his prints to the Print Room and three were acquired. 38 A little later, on June 27, Charlot was delighted to see one of the three, Leopard hunter, on display.<sup>39</sup> Other diary entries record subsequent visits; for example, on July 10, he looked at Breughel prints, and, later, works by Rembrandt, Hans Baldung, and Albrecht Dürer. He also met with Ivins on a regular basis. 40 Encouraged by his success in establishing cordial relations, Charlot donated a remarkable group of forty-five prints that he had brought with him from Mexico. The

group included eight works by Posada and *Los pequeños grabadores en madera* (1925), a portfolio of twenty-six student woodcuts for which Charlot had written a lengthy prologue (see fig. 8).<sup>41</sup> The gift also contained seven woodcuts created in early 1924 by Guerrero and Siqueiros with politically motivated and revolutionary subjects for the newspaper *El Machete* (see figs. 10, 12).<sup>42</sup> Given his friendships with artists in Mexico, there can be no doubt that these works were acquired directly from them.<sup>43</sup> Additionally, each of Posada's prints from the gift carries a pencil annotation noting that the impression is a proof printed by Charlot. This gift built on the sale from a couple of months earlier of five of Charlot's own prints.<sup>44</sup>

Ivins was determined to build a collection that, in addition to works by old masters and modern artists, incorporated an array of printed material that included ephemera. This aspiration was continued by his successor A. Hyatt Mayor. <sup>45</sup> Their attitudes struck a chord with Charlot, who shared similar values regarding the egalitarian qualities of prints. Encouraged by Ivins, in 1930, Charlot gave some 350 prints in three separate groups, consisting mainly of works by Posada and Manuel Manilla (ca. 1830–1895), followed by those by Siqueiros and Guerrero, that he had acquired in Mexico during the 1920s. <sup>46</sup> Additionally, Charlot facilitated an important gift of prints by his friend Gabriel Fernández Ledesma,



17. Gabriel Fernández Ledesma, Poster advertising an exhibition of work by young Mexican artists held in the Retiro Park, Madrid, 1929. Woodcut and letterpress, 15<sup>15</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 11<sup>13</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (40.5 × 30 cm). Gift of Gabriel Fernández Ledesma, 1930 (30.88.1)

18. Gabriel Fernández Ledesma, New York at night, from the portfolio 15 Grabados en madera, 1929. Published by Alfonso Ballesteros, Madrid. Woodcut, 175% × 13% in. (44 × 34 cm). Gift of Gabriel Fernández Ledesma, 1930 (30.88.3(16))



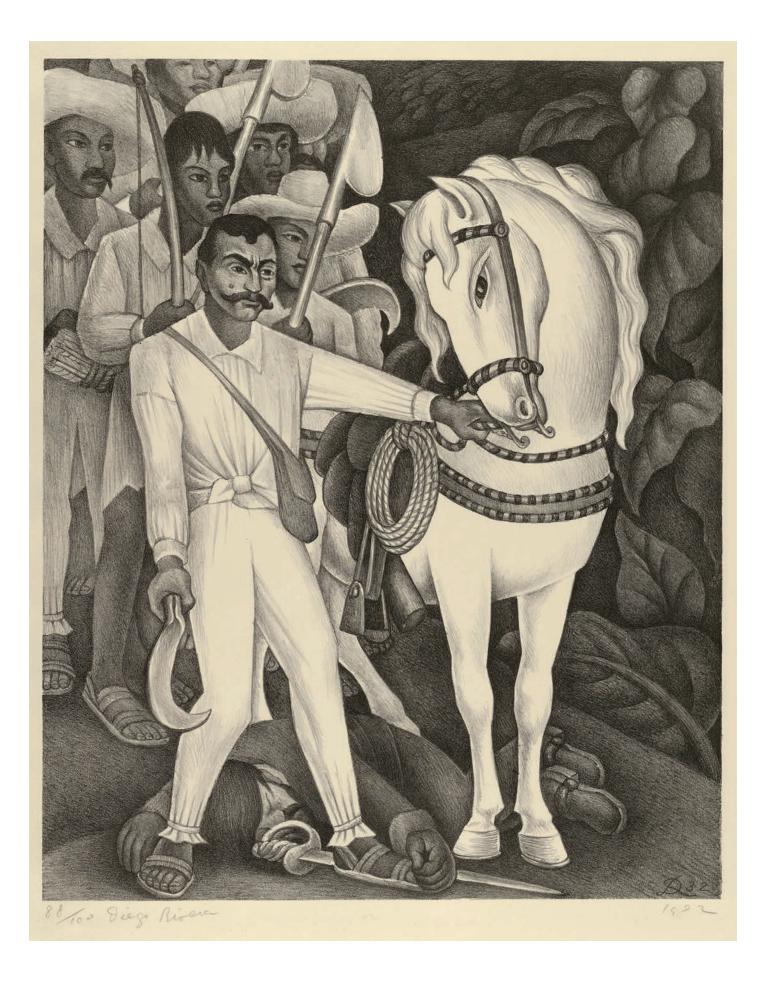
including a striking poster for an exhibition held in Madrid in June 1929 that featured the work of Mexican children who benefited from the art education programs initiated in the early 1920s (fig. 17) and a portfolio of fifteen woodcuts (fig. 18).<sup>47</sup> Writing to Charlot, Print Room assistant Olivia Paine acknowledged that it would have been "practically impossible" for The Met to have amassed such a collection themselves.<sup>48</sup> The gifts and purchases communicated the trust that the Museum invested in Charlot and reflected the material Charlot and The Met regarded worthy of acquiring.

#### Mexico in New York

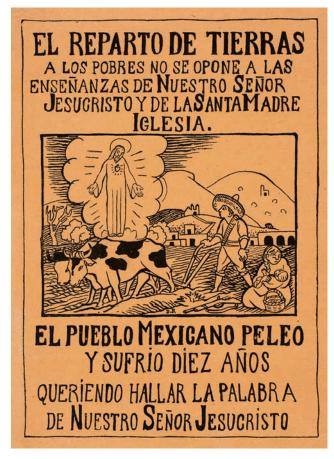
While the expansion of the print collection at The Met was due to Ivins's encouragement and Charlot's knowledge and friendships, it also very much reflected the interest in Mexican culture in the United States during the 1920s and what has been described as an "invasion" of Mexican art. <sup>49</sup> The interest was powered by strong cultural and commercial relations between the two countries.

The prevalence of Mexican art, especially by living artists, in the New York art world in particular testifies to the fascination with all things Mexican in the United States. From the mid-1920s, for example, the Weyhe Gallery arranged exhibitions and published prints by Orozco, Rivera, and Siqueiros, among others, and was involved in Mexico well into the 1930s. The owner Erhard Weyhe and gallery director Carl Zigrosser gifted and sold Mexican prints to The Met during this time (further proof of the Museum's receptiveness to expanding its holdings of this material). Indeed, Weyhe and Zigrosser sold possibly the best-known Mexican print to the Museum—Rivera's lithograph of the revolutionary hero Emiliano Zapata, after the artist's mural in the Palace of Cortés in Cuernavaca (fig. 19).

Two exhibitions held at The Met in 1930 represent a turning point for the institution, introducing hitherto unseen material and embellishing public perceptions of Mexican art: a large loan exhibition of around 1,300 objects, *Mexican Arts* (October 13–November 9), funded by the Carnegie Foundation and organized by the American Federation of Arts, and a smaller exhibition



of prints (October 12-November 9). This was the first time The Met displayed Mexican material in such abundance. The impetus for the main exhibition was political, insofar that the organizers wanted to present a positive view of Mexico after the revolution to appease relations between the two countries.<sup>52</sup> Showcasing fine, decorative, and applied arts, Mexican Arts ultimately traveled to thirteen other venues (twice as many as originally planned). Writing in the October issue of The Met *Bulletin*, the show's curator René d'Harnoncourt (later director of MoMA) explains that the exhibition was "assembled in an attempt to show the artistic aspects of the origin and development of Mexican civilization from the Conquest to the present. It includes only works of art that express Mexican ideology, characterized by the fusion of Indian and foreign elements."53 Objects made after colonization by the Spanish, or in their manner, were excluded out of a belief that they did not express the character of Mexico.



Opposite page. 19. Diego Rivera (Mexican, 1886–1957), *Emiliano Zapata and his horse*, 1932. Printed by George C. Miller, New York. Published by Weyhe Gallery, New York. Lithograph,  $21 \times 15\%$  in. (53.4 × 39.5 cm). Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1933 (33.26.7)

20. Diego Rivera, *The equal distribution of land*, ca. 1922. Woodcut, 10¾ × 7½ in. (27.3 ×19.1 cm). Jean Charlot Collection, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa Library, Honolulu, Gift of a Charlot Family Member, 2002 (2002.504.38)

The exhibition included prints, books, periodicals, and children's drawings that, in the catalogue, are collectively regarded as expressive of the cultural efflorescence nurtured by the revolution. There was also a large group of drawings, prints, and paintings by twentieth-century artists, including Charlot, and copies of periodicals he edited and to which he contributed. Commenting on the emergence of modern art, D'Harnoncourt observes, "Today there is in Mexico among the painters a creative atmosphere and output which clearly indicate a period of great strength—an artistic revival which will produce many great artists and will not revolve around any single master. It is an inspired age in Mexico and its spirit is being felt in all fields of artistic endeavor."

D'Harnoncourt's promotion of Mexican culture and the colossal success of *Mexican Arts* provided perfect complements to the modest print exhibition that ran concurrently. In a brief note in the October 1930 issue of the Bulletin, Alice Newlin points out that the works were mainly from The Met collection and highlights the importance of Posada and prints by "second generation" Mexican artists, such as Orozco and Rufino Tamayo (1899-1991). She goes on to identify specific works, for example "the fiery woodcuts of David Alfaro Siqueiros and Xavier Guerrero, issued in the labor paper, El Machete" (see figs. 10, 12, 14). 56 Charlot's prints were also included, and Newlin stresses how important Maya archaeological excavations were for his art (see fig. 16). From the outset, Charlot was closely involved with the exhibition.<sup>57</sup> He helped Newlin with the note for the Bulletin and lent seventeen works from his own collection—three Siqueiros prints for El Machete and seven works each by Manilla and Posada. 58 Charlot agreed to lend the prints in two separate consignments, suggesting that the original request was augmented.<sup>59</sup> There was also a last-minute addition: on October 3—not long before the exhibition was meant to open—Charlot agreed to lend "El Reparto de Tierras [by] Ribera." This is the broadside by Diego Rivera from about 1922 relating to partitioning lands to the poor and the compatibility of Christ's teaching with the aims of the revolution (fig. 20). 60 There is no record of the total number of works displayed, but the show included prints that had been given by Zigrosser, D'Harnoncourt, and Flynn Paine, specifically, it appears, for the exhibition. <sup>61</sup> Flynn Paine had organized an important exhibition on Mexican art at the Art Center two years earlier. Charlot had collaborated with her in Mexico in 1927 (fig. 21), and it is reasonable to assume that her gift of student prints to The Met was the result of her association with him (fig. 22).

The exhibition galvanized Charlot's continued support for the Department of Prints. On October 19, 1931, the Museum trustees accepted his most important gift to date—forty-three prints, eight posters, and five books/







Top, left. 21. Jean Charlot with Frances Flynn Paine in New York City, 1931. Photograph, 10  $\times$  8 in. (25.4  $\times$  20.3 cm). Jean Charlot Collection, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa Library, Honolulu, Founding Collection Gift of Zohmah Charlot

Bottom, left. 22. Mauricio (likely Mexican, active 1920s), A young man carrying a cage on his back, ca. 1920–28. Woodcut,  $8\% \times 5\%$  in. (20.6 × 13.7 cm). Gift of Frances Flynn Paine, 1930 (30.91.1)

Right. 23. Rufino Tamayo (Mexican, 1899–1991), *The revolutionist*, ca. 1929–30. Woodcut, 12  $\times$  9% in. (30.5  $\times$  24 cm). Gift of Jean Charlot, 1931 (31.91.33)

Opposite page. 24. David Alfaro Siqueiros, cover for the portfolio 13 Grabados, 1930. Woodcut,  $9^{13}\%6 \times 6\%8$  in. (25 × 17.5 cm). Gift of Jean Charlot, 1931 (31.91.3(1))

portfolios by leading artists, among them, Alfredo Zalce (1908–2003), Rufino Tamayo (fig. 23), Emilio Amero, Carlos Mérida (1891–1984), and Leopoldo Méndez (1902–1969). <sup>62</sup> The expanding roster of artists and range of different types of materials reflected in the gift are notable. One highlight is a portfolio of thirteen woodcuts that Siqueiros carved on scraps of wood while in Mexico City's penitentiary after being arrested for his association with the Communist Party. <sup>63</sup> Upon his release, he was forced into exile in Taxco (southwest of Mexico City), where he collated the woodcuts into a portfolio (fig. 24). As part of the gift, The Met also acquired a group of remarkably





## LA SALA DE ARTE

de la Secretaría de Educación Pública SE INAUGURA organizando su primera exposición

ZEXHIBE LAS FOTOGRA

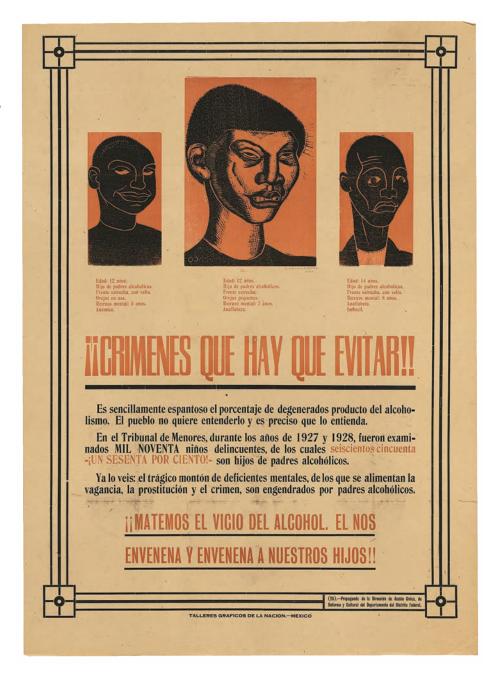
AGUSTIN JIMENEZ

del 20 de abril al 4 de mayo

IAS DE

Opposite page. 25. Gabriel Fernández Ledesma, Poster for an exhibition of photographs by Agustín Jiménez, ca. 1929–31. Lithograph of woodcut, 36% × 26% in. (93 × 67.5 cm). Gift of Jean Charlot, 1931 (31.91.14)

26. Carlos Orozco Romero (Mexican, 1896–1984), Poster warning of the dangers of fetal alcohol syndrome, ca. 1928–30. Published by Talleres Gráficos de la Nación, Mexico City. Lithograph of woodcut, 37 × 26% in. (94 × 67.5 cm). Gift of Jean Charlot, 1931 (31.91.10)



rare posters, with one by Fernández Ledesma (fig. 25) advertising an exhibition of photographs by Agustín Jiménez (1901–1974) and another by Carlos Orozco Romero (1896–1984) warning of the dangers of fetal alcohol syndrome (fig. 26). Most of the works in the gift date from about 1930, and Charlot had acquired them directly from artists or workshops when he went to Mexico in the summer of 1931. <sup>64</sup> In an interview many years later, Zalce recalls how Charlot bought his first print from him in 1931 when he was a student. <sup>65</sup>

During the early 1930s, Charlot was also advising The Met on acquisitions. In a letter to Ivins, Charlot presents Paul (Pablo Esteban) O'Higgins (1904–1983) as "an American painter much identified with Mexico" and describes a proof of a lithographic self-portrait by Rivera that he had obtained from the artist himself. <sup>66</sup> Ivins later agreed to acquire the Rivera work.

Returning to New York in late 1931, Charlot continued teaching at the Art Students League. Two years later, he began working at the Chouinard Art Institute in Los Angeles, before heading back to New York in 1934. Charlot's *Picture Book* of mainly Mexican themes was published in an edition of five hundred in 1933, and The Met purchased a copy. <sup>67</sup> Charlot also presented four volumes of progressive proofs for the book to the Museum. <sup>68</sup> He participated in numerous exhibitions in New York, expanding his social and professional contacts. In 1933, five of his works were included in the MoMA exhibition

American Sources of Modern Art (May 10–June 30), which explored art of the ancient Americas and its contemporary resonance. <sup>69</sup> In early 1934, Charlot had three solo exhibitions, at the John Levy Galleries, the Rock Island Art Club, and the Florence Cane School of Art, where he began teaching in the following year. In March 1936, an exhibition of Charlot's work was held at Columbia University, where he delivered a series of lectures a year later. During this time, Charlot maintained close relations with Met curators through regular correspondence and gifts. <sup>70</sup> A letter to Charlot from an unidentified assistant in the Print Room expresses the department's concern over the "weighty problem" of how to classify Charlot's own work, leaving the decision to him to go "among your

beloved Mexicans or among the Americans?"<sup>71</sup> Charlot's attachment to Mexico largely defined his artistic credentials, and at The Met, his work has always been filed in the Mexican section. Incoming gifts from Charlot included miscellaneous items, such as a copy of André Salmon's *Le calumet* (1920) with woodcuts by André Derain, a catalogue of Charlot's prints (1936) with pictograph-like lithographic illustrations printed by Albert Carman (formerly printer in residence at The Met), and Carlos Mérida's portfolio of surrealist-inspired abstract lithographs titled *Motivos* (1936; fig. 27). Two reading primers for workers (fig. 28), a flyer by Ángel Bracho (1911–2005) drawing on the memory of the revolution (fig. 29), and twenty-six lithographs all





Left. 27. Carlos Mérida (Guatemalan, 1891–1984), Abstract composition, from the portfolio Motivos, 1936. Published by Ediciones Arte Mexicano, Mexico City. Woodcut,  $8^{15}\% \times 6^{5}\%$  in. (22.7 × 16 cm). Gift of Jean Charlot, 1938 (38.72.7)

Right. 28. Cover for Libro de lectura para uso de las escuelas nocturnas para trabajadores. Primer grado (Reading primer for workers who attend night school. First grade), 1938. Published by Editora Popular de la Secretaría de Educación Pública, Mexico City. Lithograph of linocut and letterpress, 8¾ × 6% in. (22.2 × 16 cm). Gift of Jean Charlot, 1939 (39.16.27)

Opposite page. 29. Ángel Bracho (Mexican, 1911–2005), Manifesto of the town of Soconusco, 1938. Probably published by Taller de Gráfica Popular, Mexico City. Linocut and letterpress,  $17\% \times 11\%$  in. (43.5 × 30 cm). Gift of Jean Charlot, 1939 (39.16.11)



## MANIFIESTO AL PUEBLO DE SOCONUSCO

En este día todo el pueblo de México rinde cálido homenaje a los soldadados de la Revolución.

Pueblo y Ejército cordial y firmemente unidos constituyen el más seguro sostén para nuestras instituciones, baluarte para la lucha por la defensa de la Democracia, contra la amenaza inminente del Fascismo, y amplia garantía para la marcha ininterrumpida del movimiento de liberación del Pueblo Mexicano.

Nacido el Ejército de la Révolución de la masa popular anónima al calor de la gesta iniciada por Madero, durante más de un cuarto de siglo ha venido fecundando con su sangre generosa el suelo de la Patria, y se ha vinculado a los anhelos emancipadores de los campesinos que luchan por adquirir la tierra que trabajan, a los obreros por mejorar sus condiciones de trabajo y de vida, y al Pueblo en general por la cultura y el progreso.

Compenetrados los soldados de que su actuación no puede limitarse sólo a velar por la integridad nacional sino que, además, como cindadanos de un país independiente deben darle frente también a los grandes problemas económicos, políticos y sociales que con tan clara visión orienta el Gral Lázaro Cárdenas, no han vacilado en participar activamente en la organización del Partido de la Revolución Mexicana (P.R.M.) compartiendo de esta manera, con los otros sectores populares, la responsabilidad histórica del trascendental momento que vivimos.

Interpretando el sentir de nuestro pueblo, os exhortamos a participar en los actos y festejos organizados para patentizar la simpatía y la solidaridad hacia nuestro heróico Ejército Nacional.

#### Tapachula, Chis., 27 de Abril de 1938.

Federación Distrital Obrera de Soconusco.— H. Ayuntamiento.— Delegación del S. C. O. P.— Delegación del S. T. F. R. M. Sección 1 (C. T. M.)—Sindicato Unico de Trabajadores de la Enseñanza de Chiapas (S. T. E. R. M. C. 1. M.)—Partido Comunista de México, Comité Regional.—Delegación del Sindicato Nacional de la Secretaría de Cobernación.—Brigada Pro-Integración Nacional (Departamento de Acción Social, Secretaría de Educación Pública).—Liga Central Socialista de Resistencia.—"Vanquardia Socialista".— Comisariado Ejidal de Tapachula".—Confederación Campesina Mexicana.—P. N. R.—Banco de Crédito Ejidal, Delegación del Departamento Agrario,—Unión de Pequeños propietarios de Fincas Caleteras.—Sindicato de Maestros del Estado.

Angel Bracks



arrived in 1939. Among the lithographs were six works by O'Higgins. $^{73}$ 

Interest in Mexican culture in the United States continued unabated.74 The exhibition Twenty Centuries of Mexican Art, held at MoMA in 1940 (May 15-September 30), displayed an enormous number of ancient, colonial, folk, and modern objects; the works filled the entire gallery space and continued into the courtyard with pre-Columbian stone sculpture. Charlot's color lithograph Mother and Child (1934) was included in the modern section. 75 The roster of Charlot's artistic and academic activities during the late 1930s and 1940s demonstrates how embedded he had become in the cultural life of the city. In 1941, Charlot's work was used to demonstrate the process of color lithography for MoMA's traveling exhibition *The* Graphic Arts. Specifically, the show featured a lidded wooden case that housed aluminum plates, single-color proofs, progressive proofs, the final state of his 1938 print Tortilla makers, his biography, and a reproduction of Edward Weston's 1933 portrait of him (fig. 30). Charlot's reputation was sufficiently established for him to accept

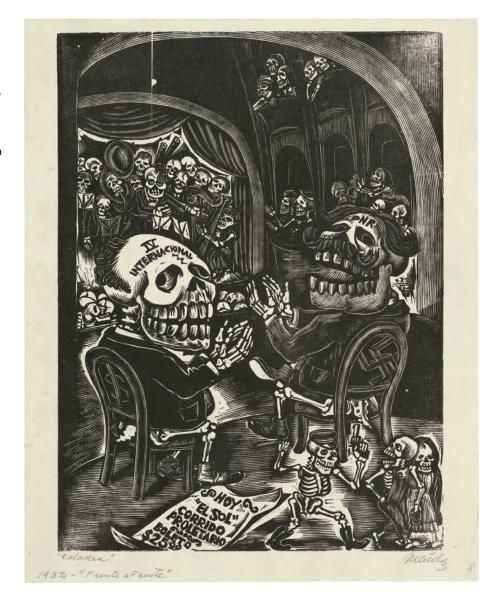
offers of work beyond New York, and in 1941 he took a teaching position at the University of Georgia, where in 1943 he became artist in residence. This was followed by a period teaching at Black Mountain College, North Carolina, in the summer of 1944, and that fall he was artist in residence at Smith College, Northampton. Despite his peripatetic existence, Charlot continued to send material to The Met; one notable gift was Mérida's portfolio *Estampas del Popol-Vuh* (1943).<sup>76</sup>

#### Printmaking at the Vanguard

By the early 1930s the appeal of muralism had cooled broadly because of the fact that it was seen as representative of a revolutionary government that had revealed its many failings. The Mexican writer Octavio Paz described it as "the painted apologia of the ideological dictatorship of an armed bureaucracy." Artists like Charlot and Orozco, who diverted their attention from murals to explore printmaking, were followed by a slightly younger generation that included figures such as Méndez and

Opposite page. 30. A lidded wooden case containing the display "Color Lithography— Tortilla makers—by Jean Charlot" for a traveling exhibition organized by the Museum of Modern Art, New York, 1941. Jean Charlot Collection, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa Library, Honolulu, Gift of Miss Elizabeth Fuller, 2006 (2006.504.1)

31. Leopoldo Méndez (Mexican, 1902–1969), Calaveras symphony concert, 1934. Wood engraving,  $9\% \times 7\%$  in. (24.5 × 20 cm). The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1946 (46.46.36)



Francisco Dosamantes (1911–1986). Printmaking became the dominant conduit for addressing political and social concerns, a reality reflected in the establishment of artists' collectives committed to promoting social action. These developments should be viewed against the backdrop of the educational programs supported by the National Revolutionary Party (founded in 1929), implemented through broadcasts, the social missions for campesinos, and other similar initiatives that reflected revolutionary ideology.

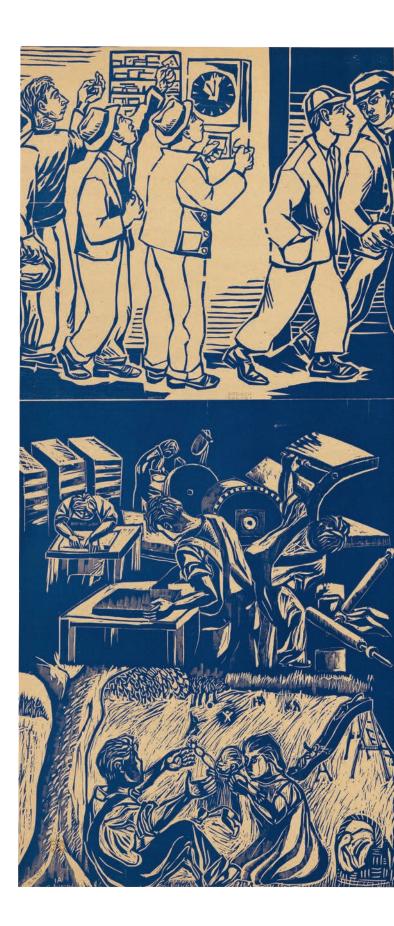
The Liga de Escritores y Artistas Revolucionarios (LEAR; League of Revolutionary Writers and Artists) was founded in late 1933 with close ties to Mexico's Communist Party. Counted in its membership were Méndez, Luis Arenal (1907–1985), José Chávez Morado (1909–2002), Guerrero, O'Higgins, Antonio Pujol (1913–1995), and Everardo Ramírez (1906–1992). Reflecting the

progressive policies of President Lázaro Cárdenas, the LEAR supported anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist struggles that were voiced through its magazine *Frente* a Frente. Méndez created a print for the cover of its first issue in November 1934 (fig. 31). As a cultural force that had considerable influence on education in Mexico, the LEAR sent exhibitions across the country, organized lectures and meetings, and established schools for workers. 80 One notable project was a series of textbooks illustrated by LEAR artists to teach literacy to workers taking night classes (see fig. 28). By 1937, internal differences and political tensions had resulted in its demise, and in its wake came the Taller Editorial de Gráfica Popular (TEGP), founded in spring 1937 by such artists as Arenal, Raúl Anguiano (1915-2006), O'Higgins, and Zalce, some of whom had been members of the LEAR. In the following year, led by Méndez, the TEGP became the

Taller de Gráfica Popular (TGP; Workshop of Popular Graphic Art), the longest-lasting artists' collective. 81 For its activism and political intrigue, as well as the number of artists involved, it is one of the most fascinating groups in the history of twentieth-century printmaking. Indeed, the TGP developed into an immensely productive organization that exerted influence on an international level.82 Its statutes state that it was "founded with the aim of stimulating graphic arts production in the interests of the Mexican people, and to this end seeks to bring together the greatest number of artists in a task of constant selfimprovement through collective production."83 Drawing on the tradition of Posada's illustrated broadsheets and the bold graphics of El Machete, the TGP produced material that supported trade unionism (fig. 32), agrarian rights, politics, and especially socialist education.

Posters were among the most striking material created during this period. Many examples relate to the struggle against Fascism and the suffering brought on by the Spanish Civil War, both of which resulted in refugees arriving in Mexico (figs. 33, 34). Other posters sponsored by the Departamento Autónomo de Prensa y Publicidad (DAPP; Department of Press and Propaganda) advertised exhibitions and free night courses in printmaking and bookbinding (fig. 35).84 Like El Machete ten years earlier, these posters were pasted in the streets and other public places (figs. 36, 37). Writing about an exhibition he curated in 1936 for the LEAR, Fernández Ledesma eloquently describes the efficacy of posters: "The poster is the theater, the mural decoration and the book that cannot wait to be visited: it goes out into the street, and from the wall shouts its message to the passersby. The voice of a good poster is always heard."85

32. Everardo Ramírez (Mexican, 1906–1992), Ignacio Aguirre (Mexican, 1900–1990), and Alfredo Zalce (Mexican, 1908–2003), Poster addressing union demands for graphic art workers employed by commercial workshops, ca. 1940–42. Published by Taller de Gráfica Popular, Mexico City. Lithograph of linocut and woodcut, 26% × 35% (67 × 90.5 cm). The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1946 (46.46.489)



## Unión de Obreros de Artes Gráficas de los Talleres Comerciales

República de Cuba, 16

SITAG - CTM

México, D. F.

#### TRABAJADORES NO SINDICALIZADOS:



Gran número de talleres de imprenta en los que existe un contrato colectivo de trabajo tienen para sus obreros obligaciones que en los talleres libres no pueden alcanzarse. Observen cuáles son:

#### PAGO DEL SEPTIMO DIA

Esta es una de tantas obligaciones que la Ley Federal del Trabajo señala para los patrones. Pero no todos la cumplen. Quizá muchos de los que lean este cartel estarán obligados por sus patrones a firmar recibos semanales de raya en los que se incluya el pago del día de descanso, sin recibirlo. Los trabajadores amparados por un contrato de trabajo perciben ese pago y algunas otras ventajas que adelante señalamos.

#### 2. VACACIONES ANUALES

La Ley Federal del Trabajo señala la obligación a los patrones de conceder anualmente a sus trabajadores seis días de vacaciones. Con un contrato de trabajo, los obreros de Artes Gráticas descansan anualmente hasta quince días. En cambio, un trabajador libre trabaja todo el año sin percibir un solo día de vacaciones. Si ese mismo trabajador se agrupa con sus compañeros, unidos todos se lograrán mayores ventajas, la Ley puede ser superada.

#### 3 OCHO HORAS DE TRABAJO

Nadie debe trabajar más de ocho horas diarias. El salario se cubre por esa jornada de trabajo. Quienes obligan a sus trabajadores a prestar servicios por más de ocho horas, están violando las Leyes del País. Esta burla es preciso impedirla.

#### 4 MEDICO Y MEDICINAS

Cuando un trabajador libre sufre una enfermedad, no tiene con q u é curarse. Primero, porque su salario apenas le permite subsistir; segundo, porque su patrón no tiene ninguna obligación. Es dectir, la tiene, pero no puede exigirsela. A lo mejor, cuando el trabaja dor se alivia, después de que ha solicitado alguna ayuda, se encuentra con que no tiene trabajo. Su patrón no puede permitir que le pidan cosas "im posibles". Pero con un contrato de trabajo no hay "imposibles", y los derechos de los obreros son respetados.

#### 5 CENTRO DE ESTUDIOS

Todos los patrones sujetos a contrato tienen la obligación de dar a la Unión de Obreros de Artes Gráficas una cantidad que se destina a actividades culturales. Diariamente, en el Centro de Estudios, los trabajadores adquieren nuevos conocimientos. Así, al mismo tiempo que se conquistan mejores condiciones de vida, el obrero se prepara para el faturo.

#### ¿COMO ADQUIRIR ESTAS VENTAJAS FACILMENTE?

HOUSTRIAL CRAFICA, S. A.—Balderse, 134.

Presenta tu solicitud de ingreso a nuestra Agrupación; convence a tus camaradas de que deben hacerlo también y conseguirás lo que con súplicas no has podido obtener hasta ahora.



## IVICTORIA!



Los artistas del Taller de Gráfica Popular nos unimos al júbilo de todos los trabajadores y hombres progresistas de México y del Mundo por el triunfo del glorioso Ejército Rojo y de las armas de todas las Naciones Unidas sobre la Alemania Nazi, como el paso más trascendente para la

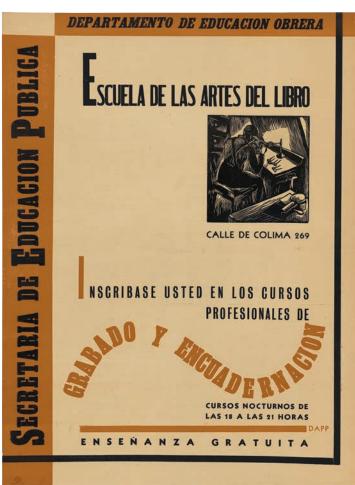
DESTRUCCION TOTAL DEL FASCISMO



Opposite page. 33. Ángel Bracho, Poster celebrating the Allied victory over the Nazis at the end of World War II, 1945. Published by Taller de Gráfica Popular, Mexico City. Lithograph of linocut,  $31\frac{1}{2} \times 23\frac{1}{4}$  in. (80  $\times$  59 cm). The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1946 (46.46.507)

Top. 34. Raúl Anguiano (Mexican, 1915–2006), Poster to raise funds in support of the Republican cause during the Spanish Civil War, 1938. Published by Taller de Gráfica Popular, Mexico City. Lithograph,  $25\%6 \times 19\%2$  in. (64 × 49.5 cm). Gift of Jean Charlot, 1940 (40.47.8)

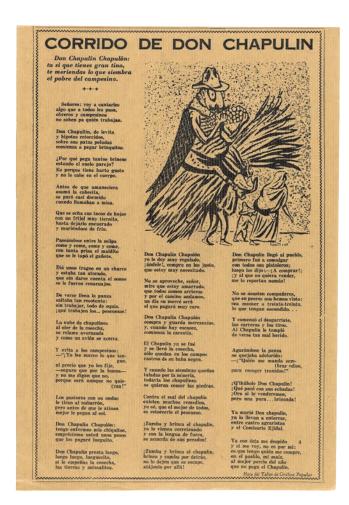
Bottom. 35. Attributed to Francisco Díaz de León (Mexican, 1897–1975), Poster advertising a free night course to learn printmaking and bookbinding, 1937–39. Lithograph of woodcut, 37%  $\times$  27½ in (94.5  $\times$  71 cm). The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1946 (46.46.334)







- 36. Pablo Esteban O'Higgins (American, 1904–1983), Poster relating to the Soviet Front, 1941. Published by Taller de Gráfica Popular, Mexico City. Lithograph,  $18\frac{1}{2} \times 26\frac{3}{6}$  in. (47 × 67 cm). The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1946 (46.46.510)
- 37. Josefina Vollmer (likely Mexican, active 1940s), A corner on Avenida 5 de Mayo, Mexico City, winter 1942–43, page 6 from TGP México. El Taller de Gráfica Popular. Doce años de obra artística colectiva (TGP Mexico. Workshop of Popular Graphic Art. Twelve years of collective artístic work), edited by Hannes Meyer, 1949. Published by La Estampa Mexicana, Mexico City. Administrative Fund, 1987 (1987.1079)



38. Leopoldo Méndez, *Ballad of Mr. Grasshopper who exploits starving workers*, ca. 1940. Published by Taller de Gráfica Popular, Mexico City. Zincograph and letterpress, 13% × 9½ in. (34 × 23.5 cm). The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1946 (46.46.460)

MEXICANOS:

A CONTRIBUIR TODOS AL PAGO DE LA DEUDA PETROLERA

Comité Nacional de la Campaña Pro-Educación Popular Colabora el Departamento de Enseñanza Agricola y Normal Bural

39. Attributed to Alfredo Zalce, *Poster relating to the expropriation of foreign oil interests*, ca. 1938. Printed by Cooperativa de Artes Gráficas, Mexico City. Lithograph of linocut,  $36\% \times 26\%$  in. (92.5 × 67 cm). The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1946 (46.46.491)

Flyers, books, and portfolios of prints were also created by the TGP. Printed on cheap paper and intended for distribution in the street and at events, posters and flyers addressed such issues as the oppression of workers and exploitative foreign intervention (figs. 38, 39). Charlot knew many of the TGP members, and he acquired their prints while he was based in the United States. One of Charlot's gifts from 1940—a portfolio of seven lithographs by Méndez that depict murdered schoolteachers in rural Mexico—exemplifies the range of subjects and formats addressed by TGP artists (fig. 40). <sup>86</sup>

#### Return to Mexico

In early 1945, Charlot received a major break in the form of a Guggenheim Foundation fellowship to research and write the manuscript that became *The Mexican Mural Renaissance*, 1920–1925 (1963). The fellowship enabled him to return to Mexico, where he remained with his

family until the summer of 1947. In April 1945, Carlos Mérida wrote to Charlot, noting that his return was greatly anticipated and would be celebrated by all of his friends. Back in familiar territory, Charlot renewed friendships with artists and kindled new ones, spending time with Mérida, Zalce, Federico Cantú (1908–1989), and O'Higgins. He also used the facilities at the TGP to print, for example, lithographs for *Mexihkanantli* (Nahuatl for "Mexican mother"), the progressive proofs for which made their way to The Met. Charlot wrote about artists whose work he admired, such as Guerrero and Lola Cueto (1897–1978), and penned a prologue for Zalce's portfolio of eight lithographs titled *Estampas de Yucatán* (fig. 41).

World War II was still raging when Charlot returned to Mexico. It was a time of tremendous tension and fatigue as the horrors of the conflict became increasingly evident. Artists at the TGP worked tirelessly, producing posters and publications that denounced the war and



Left. 40. Leopoldo Méndez, Juan Martínez Escobar murdered in June 1938 in Acámbaro (Guanajuato) in the presence of his students, from the portfolio En nombre de Cristo (In the name of Christ), 1939. Published by Taller de Gráfica Popular, Mexico City. Lithograph, 13¾ × 9¾6 in. (35 × 24 cm). The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1946 (46.46.69(2))

Bottom. 41. Alfredo Zalce, *The Palisada River*, 1945, from the portfolio *Estampas de Yucatán*, 1946. Printed by José Sánchez. Published by Taller de Gráfica Popular (La Estampa Mexicana), Mexico City. Lithograph, 15%6 × 17%1 in. (38.5 × 44.5 cm). The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1946 (46.46.453(1))

Opposite page. 42. Gonzalo de la Paz Pérez (Mexican, 1909–2001), War, 1940, from El libro negro del terror Nazi en Europa (The Black Book of Nazi Terror in Europe), 1943. Lithograph and letterpress,  $81\%_6 \times 61\%_6$  in. (22 × 17 cm). A. Hyatt Mayor Purchase, Marjorie Phelps Starr Bequest, 2022 (2022.356)



supported the International Popular Front against Fascism. One highly significant publication was *El libro negro del terror Nazi en Europa* (*The Black Book of Nazi Terror in Europe*, 1943; fig. 42). Conceived in the winter of 1942–43 by a group of political refugees in Mexico City, the project was coordinated by Hannes Meyer (formerly director of the Bauhaus) in his capacity as the business director of the TGP. Meyer selected the illustrations and solicited prints from TGP artists, such as Méndez, O'Higgins, and Zalce. Hailing from sixteen countries, the contributors included fifty-five authors and twenty-four visual artists who produced the book's 164 photographs and fifty print illustrations. The book is one of the earliest accounts of the horrors of Fascism and contains some of the first depictions of Nazi atrocities.

Charlot's trip to Mexico proved auspicious for The Met. In April 1945, before setting out, he wrote to Mayor suggesting that The Met provide him with a "buying allowance to get on the spot whatever I think would be an addition to the Print collection." Mayor passed the letter to Ivins with an annotation explaining that Charlot

"might well get us excellent things that would be impossible to come by otherwise"; this was a clear endorsement of the trust they had established during the previous decade. The recommendation set in motion a sequence of events that culminated in a significant group of Mexican prints and books coming to The Met, thereby creating one of the most comprehensive museum collections of this material in the world. With Ivins's fulsome support, the executive committee agreed to establish a line of credit for Charlot in Mexico City of up to one thousand dollars. 92 Ivins informed Charlot that the first installment would be for five hundred dollars, and in March the following year Ivins asked Charlot if he required more money.<sup>93</sup> Relishing the opportunity to acquire work and confident in the knowledge that The Met supported his judgment, Charlot immediately set to his task. By the middle of June 1945—only weeks after arriving in Mexico—Charlot had gathered an important selection of prints that featured art by Zalce, Posada, Méndez, Mérida (fig. 43), and others.94 Over the next year, he continued hunting; in March 1946, Charlot sent a list of his purchases, identifying



### DESTRUCCION TOTAL DEL REGIMEN NAZI-FASCISTA Por VICENTE LOMBARDO TOLEDANO

El más alto espíritu del mundo no habría podido imaginar una característica más punzante de la tragedia de la Europa ocupada que la breve nota publicada al final de este libro, en la cual se hace constar que las cifras de los crímenes que se dan a conocer en los diferentes capítulos han sido sobrepasadas con exceso durante la impresión de la obra. He ahí un verdugo cuyo trabajo va tan aprisa, que los medios técnicos no pueden alcanzarlo.

A nosotros, hasta ahora, se nos ha evitado la suerte de la Europa ocupada. Los latinoamericanos no conocemos los pelotones de ejecución hitlerianos, que hacen pasar a millones de seres de la vida a la muerte. No conocemos las Guardias Negras de Hitler que violan a las mujeres, toman a los
niños por balón de fútbol, queman vivos a los ancianos, arrasan ciudades y
aldeas enteras, torturan, matan, roban, saquean y devastan. El bemisferio
occidental no ha llegado a conocer los beneficios del "Nuevo Orden" gracias al heroismo del Ejército Rojo, de los cuerpos de ejército angloamericanos en Africa y de la flota angloamericana.

Pero, en tanto exista un régimen hitleriano en cualquier parte del mundo, la amenaza estará suspendida sobre América Latina.

LO QUE LOS NAZIS OPINAN DE LOS LATINOAMERICANOS

Llevados de su brutal cinismo, los nazis no han ocultado lo que piensan de nosotros. "No existe un pueblo mexicano —ha escrito el nazi Colin Ross, colaborador fatimo de Goebbels—; México es un concepto sin sentido... Está madurando para una segunda conquista. Necesita de una raza superior de mirada perspicaz." Y Hitler mismo ha declarado que "el indio es, por naturaleza, perverso y taimado y no es digno de consideracióo".

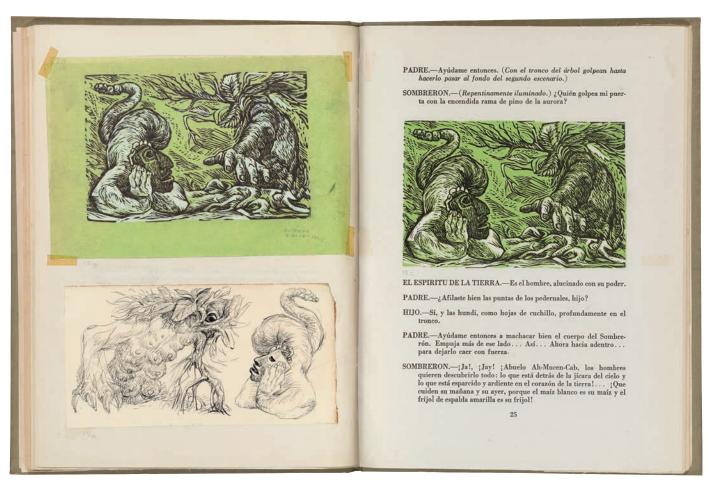
Hitler y sus colaboradores, como los teóricos pangermánicos, han expresado también francamente lo que quieren de América Latina. En pocaspalabras: sus planes son la conquista total de este hemisferio. "Si fuésemos dueños de México—ha dicho Hitler a Germán Rauschning— prouto acabarían nuestras dificultades. Por qué no nos dedicamos a esta tarea?"



single-sheet prints, portfolios, and books by contemporary and earlier artists. Mayor confirmed their safe arrival on May 3, recognizing with gratitude that were it not for Charlot, The Met could never have found this material. Mayor (who was promoted to curator after Ivins retired in June that year) then wrote to the assistant treasurer J. Kenneth Loughry requesting that four hundred more dollars be released to Charlot, leaving one hundred dollars for any incidental expenses. Mayor confirmed their safe

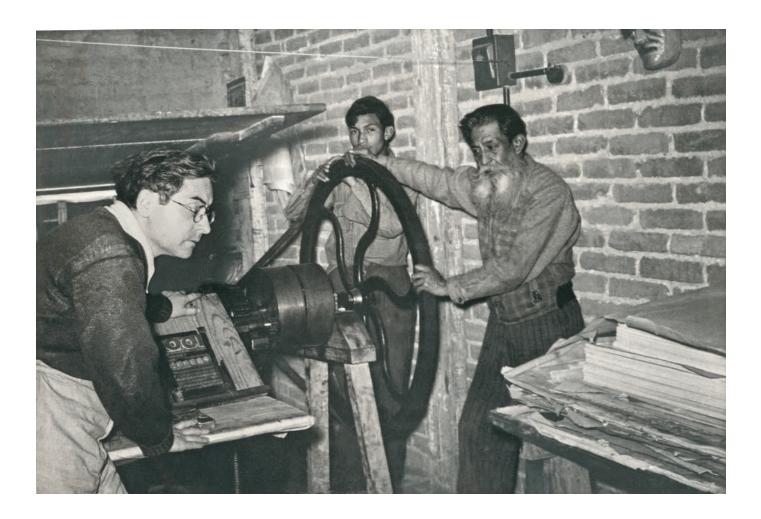
The works of art purchased by Charlot caused great excitement upon their arrival at The Met. Mayor identified individual pieces of merit: the 1756 engraving on silk (see fig. 2) and a copy of poet Bernardo Ortiz de Montellano's *El sombrerón* (1946) with the original drawings and hand-colored proof impressions of prints interleaved (fig. 44).<sup>97</sup> In late February 1947, Charlot wrote to

Mayor announcing that he had spent almost all the money and would soon return to the United States. A sense of his negotiations is revealed in the letter, in which he observes that "[o]ne difficulty in putting it [the costs] on paper is that some items could not be bought for money and were exchanged for paintings, and others are the gift of friends." The paintings he exchanged for prints must have been his own, indicating that he absorbed some of the costs himself. Charlot also describes a group of at least fifty of Posada's metal plates that Arsacio Vanegas Arroyo—son of Posada's original publisher was willing to sell.98 Mayor responded that such a collection ought really to stay in Mexico. 99 Charlot is captured in a photograph from 1947 with Blas Vanegas Arroyo and an assistant printing the cover of 100 Woodcuts by Posada/100 Grabados en madera por Posada, for which he



Opposite page. 43. Carlos Mérida, A man from Saltillo in the state of Coahuila, plate 2 from the portfolio Trajes regionales mexicanos (Regional Mexican dress), 1945. Published by Editorial Atlante, Mexico City. Silkscreen, 17½ × 12½ in. (44.5 × 32.3 cm). The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1946 (46.46.454(2))

44. Alfredo Zalce, *Spirit of the underworld*, from *El sombrerón*, by Bernardo Ortiz de Montellano, 1946. Published by Editorial La Estampa Mexicana, Mexico City. Pen and ink, hand-colored trial proof, published state with letterpress,  $11\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{1}{2}$  in. (29.2 × 21.6 cm). The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1946 (46.46.538)



wrote the prologue (fig. 45).<sup>100</sup> In June 1947, Charlot and his family traveled to California, and in September, he began as director of Colorado Springs Arts Center; the appointment soon ended because of personality frictions.<sup>101</sup> That same year, he was also guest curator at the Brooklyn Museum, selecting one hundred prints for *American Printmaking*, 1913–1947: A Retrospective Exhibition (November 18–December 16).

# Mexican Prints at The Met

The influx of almost nine hundred items in 1946 transformed the Museum's collection. <sup>102</sup> The range and quality of material are remarkable, amounting to an unequaled representation of Mexican printmaking from the eighteenth through the mid-twentieth century. The greatest concentration of work is from the twentieth century, clearly reflecting what was available: broadsides illustrating notable events (fig. 46); popular prints, some with satirical content (fig. 47); political and advertising posters (fig. 48), many of which promote educational courses and exhibitions (fig. 49); print portfolios; children's and other books; song sheets; devotional images; and

symbolist works (fig. 50). Much of the art, including large and potentially fragile posters and newspapers, survives in pristine condition because it came directly from artists and workshops instead of through intermediaries (fig. 51). Some of the prints were immediately made available to the public, and Mayor described in his correspondence people coming to see them. <sup>103</sup>

By early 1947, the ambition to mount an exhibition of Mexican prints had become a necessity. 104 In October, Charlot offered to help if such an exhibition could be realized. 105 Mayor complained that a date had not been agreed upon, observing, "I regret this delay very much but print shows always seem to have to follow other activities of the Museum." 106 Despite prevarication, by June 1949 a decision had been taken to commit to an exhibition of Mexican prints that would open on October 28 of that year. Mayor invited Charlot to write an article for the November issue of the Bulletin "on anything connected with Mexican prints." After receiving Charlot's manuscript, he responded enthusiastically: "Your Mexican article is a masterpiece—quiet, concise and as sharp as a scalpel. Everybody here is delighted with the fresh tang it gives to our Bulletin."107

Opposite page. 45. Jean Charlot, Blas Vanegas Arroyo, and an assistant in Mexico City printing the cover of "100 Woodcuts by Posada," 1947. Photograph, 4½ × 6¾ in. (11.4 × 17.1 cm). Jean Charlot Collection, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa Library, Honolulu, Founding Collection Gift of Zohmah Charlot

Right. 46. José Guadalupe Posada, *A young girl who was beheaded on April 16, 1902*, ca. 1902. Published by Antonio Vanegas Arroyo, Mexico City. Zincograph and letterpress, 11<sup>13</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 7<sup>1</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. (30 × 20 cm). The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1946 (46.46.114)

Bottom. 47. Everardo Ramírez, *Prostitute* calaveras, 1936. Woodcut, 81/16 × 213/4 in. (20.5 × 55.3 cm). The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1946 (46.46.481)





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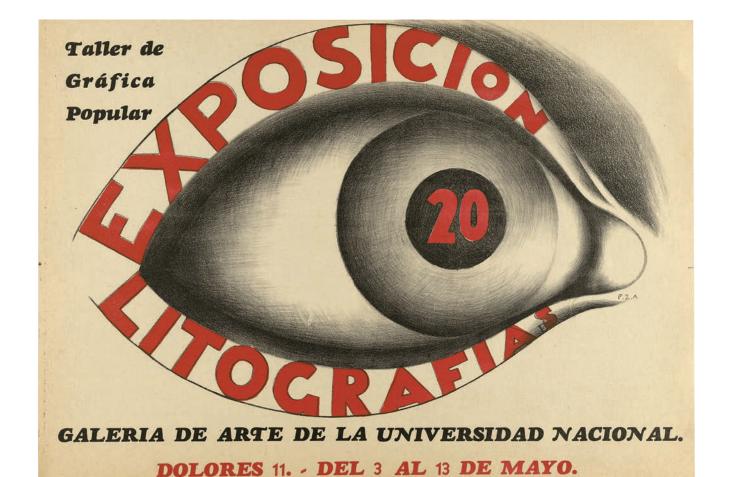
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LIGA PRO-CULTURA ALEMANA EN MEXICO



Opposite page, top. 48. Isidoro Ocampo (Mexican, 1910–1983), Poster advertising a meeting in Mexico City to discuss Japanese Fascism, 1939. Published by Taller de Gráfica Popular, Mexico City. Lithograph,  $18\%6 \times 26\%6$  in. (46.5 × 66.5 cm). The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1946 (46.46.520)

Opposite page, bottom. 49. Francisco Dosamantes (Mexican, 1911–1986), Poster for an exhibition of TGP lithographs held at the gallery of the National Autonomous University of Mexico, 1939. Published by Taller de Gráfica Popular, Mexico City. Lithograph, 17% × 23% in. (43.5 × 59.5 cm). The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1946 (46.46.511)

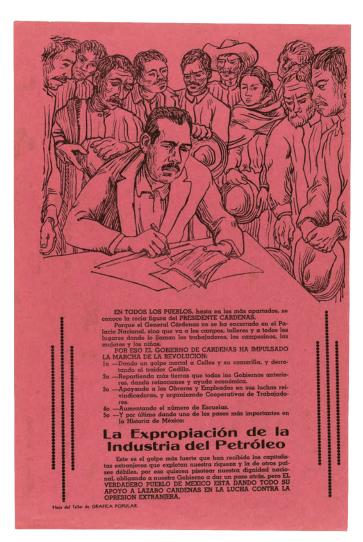
Top. 50. Julio Ruelas (Mexican, 1870–1907), The critic, ca. 1905–7. Etching,  $11\frac{7}{16} \times 8^{1}\frac{7}{16}$  in. (29 × 22 cm). The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1946 (46.46.597)

Bottom. 51. Pablo Esteban O'Higgins, Calaveras locas por la música (Skeletons crazy about music), 1938. Published by Taller de Gráfica Popular, Mexico City. Lithograph,  $18\% \times 26\%$  in. (47 × 67.5 cm). The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1946 (46.46.341(1))





When the article appeared and the exhibition opened, Charlot's role in forming the collection was acknowledged in the brief preface (presumably by Mayor): "Most of the exhibition—indeed most of the Museum's distinguished collection of Mexican graphic arts—was either given by the painter Jean Charlot or else collected by him in Mexico for the Museum." Written in evocative prose, Charlot's article opens with unabashed celebration of Indigenous culture, before recounting the history and development of printmaking in Mexico. Charlot had long believed in the democratic character of prints, and he returns to these precepts in the article, observing how Mexican artists were determined to create



52. Alfredo Zalce, Flyer relating to the expropriation of foreign oil interests, ca. 1938. Published by Taller de Gráfica Popular, Mexico City. Lithograph,  $13\% \times 8\%$  in. (34.5 × 22.5 cm). The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1946 (46.46.461)

"a didactic type of art aimed at a wider circle of men than the aesthetes." <sup>109</sup> He admits that if he had to choose one print that moved him the most, it would not be the biggest or loudest, but the small, simple geometric images of holy figures. 110 Charlot's attitude informed what he acquired and coincided with the aspirations of Met curators. A different buyer might have focused on "fine-art" prints by well-known artists (Rivera or Orozco, for example), or the vibrant posters published by the TGP. Charlot's acquisitions went beyond this material and included more obscure work that conveyed a comprehensive history of printmaking in Mexico. Some of the images directly criticized American foreign policy that resulted in unwanted intervention and the expropriation of Mexico's natural resources (fig. 52). 111 The incorporation of these prints into The Met collection reflects the egalitarian collecting practices initiated by Ivins and continued by Mayor.

Composed of eighty-six prints and thirteen books, Mexican Prints Since 1700 was scheduled to open in the old print galleries on October 28 but, much to Mayor's irritation, had to be moved to the basement galleries the day before installation was to begin because the upper galleries were "seized" for Van Gogh's drawings. 112 With few exceptions, all the exhibited works had been either donated by Charlot or acquired through him. 113 The exhibition provided a robust introduction to Mexican printmaking and included ten prints by Charlot, proportionate to the number of works by his contemporaries; for example, there were fourteen pieces by Zalce on view. Though Charlot did not make the journey from Hawai'i (where he had recently moved) to New York to enjoy the fruits of his labor, the exhibition was an enduring testimony to his passion for Mexico and its art, his generosity as a donor, and his role as an indefatigable agent and negotiator.

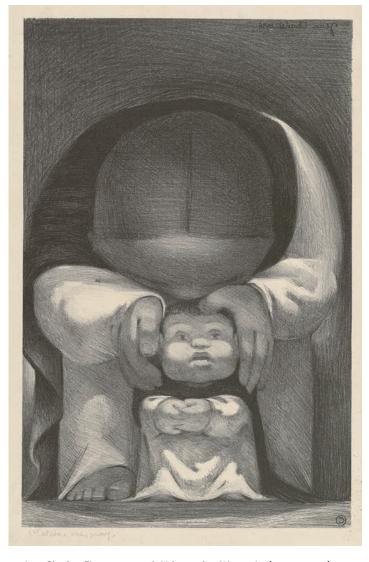
# Charlot the Artist

In acknowledging Charlot's integral role in shaping the Mexican print collection at The Met, his prodigious activity as an artist should not be overlooked. During his career, Charlot created over seventy murals, more than seven hundred prints, over 1,200 paintings, and a significant number of drawings. As noted earlier, his first transaction with The Met was the sale in 1928 of three of his own prints, and today, The Met has the largest museum collection of Charlot's prints. With the exception of a handful of woodcuts and etchings, most of the prints are lithographs that broadly focus on religious, Indigenous, and popular subjects. Given what we know of Charlot's political sympathies, as well as his friendships with many

left-wing artists in Mexico and his admiration for their work, the absence of prints by him that relate to the global political turmoil during the first half of the twentieth century may seem surprising. Superficially, his prints appear to be at odds with those being created around him; however, the general interest in the pre-Hispanic past that crystallized in the early decades of the century—reflected in archaeological projects (including those by non-Mexicans)—provides a parallel context for his practice as an artist. Charlot's fascination with myth, archaeology, and Indigenous art and craft profoundly informed what he chose to represent. His figures often reflect formal characteristics of ancient Mexican sculpture and seek to empower the artistic and political narratives surrounding these subjects (fig. 53).

Charlot turned to new projects when he moved to Hawai'i in 1949, and his contact with The Met decreased. After a hiatus during the 1950s, he resumed sending gifts of his own prints in March 1960 with a trial proof and final state of *Hawaiian swimmer*. 115 These were followed in early June by seven more lithographs, and in November by a further gift of ninety-six lithographs and etchings from all phases of his career. Charlot wrote to Mayor that the group was intended to "round up your collection."116 In recognition of his generosity, Charlot was confirmed Fellow of the Museum for Life in May 1960, and the following year he was upgraded to Fellow in Perpetuity. 117 In May 1961, Charlot's wife, Zohmah Day Charlot, wrote to Mayor announcing that her husband was gathering a selection of his large lithographs to give to The Met, and she requested a list of works already in the collection so they could try to fill any gaps. Zohmah mistakenly presumed that her husband's earliest woodcut series, Stations of the Cross, was in The Met collection. 118 The eighteen lithographs arrived in September the same year. 119 Charlot's final gift to the Museum, a set of original watercolors and progressive proofs for a 1962 edition of Thornton Wilder's book The Bridge of San Luis Rey (1927), arrived in 1964. 120

Mayor retired on June 30, 1966, bringing to an end his professional collaboration with Charlot, although the two men maintained personal contact. <sup>121</sup> In 1972, Charlot sent Mayor an impression of *Preparing Kawa, Fiji*, a color linocut that he had made in Venezuela a year earlier. <sup>122</sup> In the following month, Mayor wrote to Charlot reminiscing about earlier times, noting how "no other artist has ever studied our collection so profoundly as you did." <sup>123</sup> In October 1976, Charlot told Mayor about an article he had just written on Posada for the Pratt Institute, suggesting that "it might interest you as both of us respect 'folk



53. Jean Charlot, First steps, 1936. Lithograph, 16% × 12 in. (41 × 30.5 cm). Gift of Jean Charlot, 1960 (60.713.66)

art."<sup>124</sup> In the same month, Charlot sent Mayor a small etching of a Guatemalan weaver in response to Mayor's kind words about the catalogue raisonné of Charlot's prints Peter Morse had recently published.<sup>125</sup>

The last two works by Charlot to enter The Met collection were given in 1984, five years after the artist's death, by his son John. *Rich people in hell* (see fig. 13) embodies many of the characteristics of twentiethcentury Mexican printmaking, wherein the materiality of the print—on thin, cheap paper—and its direct visual language that engages satire, humor, and social critique forge a true and democratic alliance of making and meaning. <sup>126</sup>



- Lyle W. Williams, "Evolution of a Revolution.
   A Brief History of Printmaking in Mexico,"
   in Mexico and Modern Printmaking. A
   Revolution in the Graphic Arts, 1920 to 1950,
   ed. John Ittmann, exh. cat. (Philadelphia:
   Philadelphia Museum of Art; New Haven:
   Yale University Press, 2006), pp. 1–6;
   W. Michael Mathes, La ilustración en México
   colonial / Illustration in Colonial Mexico
   (Zapopán, Jalisco: El Colegio de Jalisco, 2001).
- Jean Charlot, Mexican Art and the Academy of San Carlos, 1785–1915 (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1962), pp. 22–25; Miguel Mathes, "La litografía y los litógrafos en México, 1826–1900: un resumen histórico," in Nación de imágenes. La litografía mexicana del siglo XIX, exh. cat. (Mexico City: Museo Nacional de Arte; Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes, 1994), pp. 43–55.
- 3. Casimiro Castro y su taller, exh. cat.
  (Mexico City: Palacio de Iturbide; Toluca:
  Museos José María Velasco y Felipe S.
  Gutiérrez, 1996); María Esther Pérez Salas,
  Costumbrismo y litografía en México: un
  nuevo modo de ver (Mexico City:
  Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México,
  Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas, 2005).
- Stephanie J. Smith, The Power and Politics of Art in Postrevolutionary Mexico (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2017), pp. 22–51.
- 5. As described by Siqueiros in the manifesto he drew up in 1922 for the Union of Technical Workers, Painters, and Sculptors. Smith, Power and Politics, pp. 31–32; Tatiana Flores, Mexico's Revolutionary Avant-Gardes: From Estridentismo to ¡30-30! (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), pp. 167–76.
- John Mraz, Looking for Mexico: Modern Visual Culture and National Identity (Durham: Duke University Press, 2009), pp. 2, 59–105.
- The two most important resources relating to Charlot are the Jean Charlot Foundation website (https://www.jeancharlot.org), developed by his son John P. Charlot, and the Jean Charlot Collection at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa Library, Honolulu (hereafter cited as JCC), which houses his collections, documents, and diaries (kept daily from 1922 to 1979 [1945 missing]) (hereafter cited as Diary). The diaries can be accessed at https://scholarspace.manoa . hawaii.edu/collections/87 aef7 af-82 c4-4 f6 c-8b3a-e7e022c89742). Charlot's essays have been republished in An Artist on Art. Collected Essays of Jean Charlot, 2 vols. (Honolulu: University Press of Hawai'i, 1972). Janine M. Richardson has compiled a complete bibliography of his writings, see

- Writings by Jean Charlot. A Bibliography (Honolulu: Jean Charlot Foundation, 2014).
- The first two volumes of Charlot's biography, which cover up to the end of 1928, have been published in draft form on the Charlot website, see "Jean Charlot: Life and Work," updated 2017, https://www.jeancharlot.org /writings-on-jean-charlot/biography-1-and-2 (hereafter cited as Biography). See also Karen Thompson, "Jean Charlot-Artist and Scholar," in Jean Charlot: A Retrospective, ed. Thomas Klobe, exh. cat. (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Art Gallery, 1990), pp. 5-33. For more on Charlot's early years, see Blanca Garduño and Milena Koprivitza, "Cronología," in México en la obra de Jean Charlot, exh. cat. (Mexico City: Colegio de San Ildefonso; Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes, 1994), pp. 110-17.
- Jean Charlot, The Mexican Mural Renaissance 1920–1925 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963), pp. 9–10; José Luis Martínez H., "Jean Charlot y la colección Boturini-Aubin-Goupil," in México en la obra de Jean Charlot, pp. 38–43.
- Peter Morse, Jean Charlot's Prints: A Catalogue Raisonné (Honolulu: University Press of Hawai'i and the Jean Charlot Foundation, 1976), nos. 11–25.
- 11. "1921–1922," section 7.3–7.3.2, Biography.
- Thomas Benjamin, La Revolución: Mexico's Great Revolution as Memory, Myth, and History (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2000), pp. 73–76.
- **13**. Charlot, *Mural Renaissance*; Flores, *Revolutionary Avant-Gardes*, pp. 55–56.
- Dawn Adès, "The Mexican Printmaking Tradition c. 1900–1930," in Revolution on Paper: Mexican Prints 1910–1960, ed. Mark McDonald, exh. cat. (London: British Museum, 2009), pp. 11–25.
- 15. Flores, Revolutionary Avant-Gardes, pp. 81–86; Tatiana Flores, "Los retos de un nuevo continente," in El espíritu del 22: Un siglo de muralismo en San Ildefonso (Mexico City: Colegio de San Ildefonso, 2022), pp. 129–51.
- **16**. For his early woodcuts, see Morse, *Charlot's Prints*, nos. 27–46.
- 17. Flores, Revolutionary Avant-Gardes, pp. 167–76; John Lear, Picturing the Proletariat: Artists and Labor in Revolutionary Mexico, 1908–1940 (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2017), pp. 77–78.
- See, for example, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (hereafter cited as MMA), 29.66.1; Flores, Revolutionary Avant-Gardes, pp. 56-67.
- John Ittmann, "Open Air Schools and Early Print Workshops," in Ittmann, Mexico and

- Modern Printmaking, pp. 90–94; Deborah Caplow, Leopoldo Méndez: Revolutionary Art and the Mexican Print (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2007), pp. 18–21; Lear, Picturing the Proletariat, pp. 132–36.
- Harper Montgomery, The Mobility of Modernism: Art and Criticism in 1920s Latin America (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2017), pp. 111–51.
- Lear, Picturing the Proletariat, pp. 87–111.
   For Charlot's account of the group, see
   Charlot, Mural Renaissance, pp. 241–51.
- Lear, Picturing the Proletariat, pp. 154–56;
   Monica Bravo, Greater American Camera:
   Making Modernism in Mexico (New Haven:
   Yale University Press, 2021), pp. 71–117.
- Charlot, Mural Renaissance, pp. 250–51;
   Document folder III (Mexican Mural Renaissance), JCC.
- 24. Morse, Charlot's Prints, nos. 57–63; Lynda Klich, The Noisemakers. Estridentismo, Vanguardism, and Social Action in Postrevolutionary Mexico (Oakland: University of California Press, 2018), pp. 202–10.
- 25. "1923–1925," section 8.2.2.2, Biography; Klich, Noisemakers, pp. 68–73; Flores, Revolutionary Avant-Gardes, pp. 177–91; Caplow, Leopoldo Méndez, pp. 31–64.
- 6. Klich, Noisemakers, pp. 169–82.
- Stefan Baciu, Jean Charlot, estridentista silencioso, 2nd ed. (Mexico City: Editorial "El café de Nadie," 1982), pp. 39–54; "1921–1922," section 7.2.3, Biography.
- Jean Charlot, "Un precursor del movimiento de arte mexicano: El grabador Posadas," Revista de Revistas, August 30, 1925, p. 25.
- Donald McVicker, "El pintor convertido en arqueólogo: Jean Charlot en Chichén Itzá," in México en la obra de Jean Charlot, pp. 58–72; "1926–1928," section 9.1–9.1.2, Biography.
- 30. Earl H. Morris, Jean Charlot, and Ann Axtell Morris, The Temple of the Warriors at Chichen Itzá, Yucatan, 2 vols. (Washington: Carnegie Institute of Washington, DC, 1931). For Charlot's text, see vol. 1, pp. 231–346; for illustrations, see vol. 2.
- 31. "1923-1925," section 8.3, Biography.
- 32. Jean Charlot, foreword to The Artist in New York. Letters to Jean Charlot and Unpublished Writings (1925–1929), by José Clemente Orozco, trans. Ruth L. C. Simms (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1974), pp. 20, 22.
- 33. For the Art Center of New York, see Laurette E. McCarthy, Walter Pach (1883–1958):

  The Armory Show and the Untold Story of Modern Art in America (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2011), p. 134. For the exhibition, see Helen Delpar,

- The Enormous Vogue of Things Mexican: Cultural Relations between the United States and Mexico, 1920–1935 (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1992), pp. 136–39. For Flynn Paine, see Anna Indych-López, Muralism without Walls: Rivera, Orozco, and Siqueiros in the United States, 1927–1940 (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2009), pp. 88–95. For Charlot's role helping Flynn Paine in Mexico, see "1926–1928," section 9.2, Biography.
- 34. For Charlot and Pach, see, for example, November 3 and 19, 1928, Diary; McCarthy, Walter Pach, pp. 133–34.
- 35. For Charlot, Mayor, and Pach in Print Room, see May 28, 1929, Diary. See also record of Pach in New York in Orozco's letters to Charlot in Artist in New York, pp. 14, 28, 45.
- 36. Orozco introduced Charlot to Miller in December 1928, see Ittmann, Mexico and Modern Printmaking, p. 97. For Miller printed lithographs, see Morse, Charlot's Prints, nos. 79–83, 85–105, 110.
- 37. Anita Brenner, foreword to Jean Charlot. Exhibition of Mexican Paintings, exhibition pamphlet (New York: Art Students League, 1930); An Exhibition of Work of 46 Painters and Sculptors under 35 Years of Age, exh. cat. (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1930), nos. 61–64 (Brenner wrote the introduction).
- 38. Archival material at The Met relating to Charlot can be found in two places: gift and purchase documentation, as well as correspondence between Charlot and Met curators, are held in the Department of Drawings and Prints (hereafter cited as DP); and invoices relating to gifts, loans, and exhibitions are held in the Office of the Secretary Records, The Metropolitan Museum of Art Archives (hereafter cited as Archives). The works acquired were MMA 29.66.1–.3; purchase no. 875, May 28, 1929, DP. For Charlot's early visits to The Met, see, for example, November 18, 22, and 24; and December 29, 1928, Diary.
- 39. MMA 29.66.3; June 27, 1929, Diary. Charlot returned to The Met on June 29 and 30.
- 40. See, for example, October 16, 21, and 29; November 13; and December 2, 1929, Diary. The diaries are written in the French Système Fayet shorthand that Charlot learned in France and have yet to be properly studied and deciphered, see Morse, Charlot's Prints, p. xvii. The diary entries that relate to prints are translated by Morse in his prints catalogue.
- 41. Gift no. 525, November 14, 1929, DP; accepted December 16, 1929, Archives. The group includes eighteen single-sheet prints and the student portfolio: MMA 29.101.1–.18; 29.101.19(1–26).
- 42. The prints for El Machete were possibly impressions Charlot reprinted from the blocks in 1926. See December 11, 1926, Diary; Charlot, Mural Renaissance, p. 245.
- 43. Charlot's diaries from the 1920s are filled with the names of artists. In the final pages of his 1928 diary (the year he moved to New York), we find addresses of some of those he knew in Mexico and abroad, including Tina Modotti, Leon Underwood, and Gabriel Fernández Ledesma.

- **44.** MMA 29.105.2(a, b)-.4; purchase no. 881, September 6, 1929, DP.
- 45. On Ivins as a collector, see Peter Parshall, "The Education of a Curator: William Mills Ivins Jr. at the Met," in Freyda Spira with Peter Parshall, The Power of Prints: The Legacy of William M. Ivins and A. Hyatt Mayor, exh. cat. (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art; New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016), pp. 13–25. More broadly on Ivins and Mayor, see Spira, introduction to The Power of Prints, pp. 3–10.
- 46. Gifts in 1930: January 15 (fifteen prints, MMA 30.14.1–.15; no. 549, DP; accepted February 17, Archives); April 9 (one book and set of proofs for the book, MMA 30.33(1–88); no. 580, DP; accepted April 21, Archives); June 14 (253 prints, MMA 30.82.1–.251; no. 596, DP; accepted October 20, Archives).
- 47. MMA 30.88.1, 30.88.3(1–18); gift no. 624, September 5, 1930, DP.
- Paine to Charlot, September 3, 1930, DP.
   The letter also contains details of how gift no. 624 was arranged.
- 49. See Delpar, Enormous Vogue; Indych-López, Muralism without Walls, pp. 1–11. The fascination worked both ways, with Americans traveling to Mexico in considerable numbers. See Karen Cordero Reiman, "Constructing a Modern Mexican Art, 1910–1940," in James Oles, South of the Border: Mexico in the American Imagination, 1914–1947, exh. cat. (New Haven: Yale University Art Gallery; Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1993), pp. 11–47.
- 50. For the Weyhe Gallery, see Innis Howe Shoemaker, "Crossing Borders: The Weyhe Gallery and the Vogue for Mexican Art in the United States, 1926–40," in Ittmann, Mexico and Modern Printmaking, pp. 23–53.
- 51. For example, Zigrosser gave four woodcuts by Rufino Tamayo to The Met in 1930 (MMA 30.95.1-.4), and the Weyhe Gallery sold several of Rivera's lithographs to The Met in the early 1930s (MMA 29.63.4; 31.107.28; 33.26.4-.8).
- 52. Ronda Kasl, "An American Museum: Representing the Arts of Mexico at The Metropolitan Museum of Art," in The Americas Revealed: Collecting Colonial and Modern Latin American Art in the United States, ed. Edward J. Sullivan, exh. cat. (New York: Frick Collection; University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2018), pp. 89–91; see also Oles, South of the Border, pp. 127–31.
- 53. René d'Harnoncourt, "The Loan Exhibition of Mexican Arts," The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin (hereafter cited as MMAB) 25, no. 10 (October 1930), p. 211. For D'Harnoncourt and the 1930 exhibition, see Joseph J. Rishel, "North of the Border: Exhibiting and Collecting Modern Mexican Art in the United States," in Paint the Revolution: Mexican Modernism, 1910–1950, exh. cat. (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art; New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017), pp. 331–37; Delpar, Enormous Vogue, pp. 143–46.
- 54. Mexican Arts, exh. cat. (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art; Portland, Me.:

- Southworth Press, 1930), esp. nos. 382–384a–c (works by Charlot), 505 (Forma), 506 (Mexican Folkways), and 507 (Mexican Life). Entries in Charlot's diary for 1930 record the dates he likely visited The Met in connection with the exhibition. Charlot also met with D'Harnoncourt on August 21.
- 55. D'Harnoncourt, "Loan Exhibition," p. 217.
- Alice Newlin, "Mexican Prints on View," MMAB 25, no. 10 (October 1930), p. 225.
- Entries in Charlot's diary from 1930 record a meeting with Ivins (October 3) and the exhibition opening (October 13).
- 58. Ivins instructed Newlin that she was to write the labels and receive help from Charlot, see memo, August 28, 1930, exhibition file, DP. Charlot's undated response to Newlin offers corrections to her note for the Bulletin.
- Loan agreements relating to four prints (August 22) and thirteen prints (August 26); loan offers, August 26 and 27, 1930, Archives.
- 60. Loan agreement, October 3, 1930, Archives; loan offer, October 7, 1930, Archives. The impression shown at The Met is probably the one now in the Charlot collection at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa Library (DR:04). See Charlot, Mural Renaissance, pp. 25–26; Jean Charlot, "José Guadalupe Posada and His Successors," in Posada's Mexico, ed. Ron Tyler, exh. cat. (Washington, DC: Library of Congress; Fort Worth: Amon Carter Museum of Western Art, 1979), p. 48.
- 61. Gift nos. 618–20, August 22, 1930, DP. The gift receipts have notes attached to them specifying which prints were in the show of Mexican prints. Flynn Paine gift: 30.91.1–.3 (one [unspecified] print exhibited); Zigrosser gift: 30.95.1–.4 (three prints exhibited [30.95.1–.3]); D'Harnoncourt gift: 30.84 (*The Virgin of Guadalupe*, a print he made).
- **62.** MMA 31.91.1–.56; gift no. 716, September 19, 1931, DP; accepted October 19, 1931, Archives.
- 63. MMA 31.91.3(1–13).
- Many Mexican artists are mentioned in Charlot's diary covering the second half of 1931, specifically in reference to seeing them and their art. For example, the entry for August 25 identifies Francisco Díaz de León, whose works were part of the gift (MMA 31.91.35–38).
- 65. These Zalce prints must be 31.91.44–.53. Alfredo Zalce, interview by John P. Charlot, July 27–28, 1971, transcript, Jean Charlot Foundation website.
- 66. See MMA 31.44; undated letter, DP.
- 67. MMA 34.39; purchase no. 1406, April 23, 1934, DP.
- 68. MMA 34.80(1–4); gift no. 906, June 20, 1934, DP; accepted October 15, 1934, Archives.
- American Sources of Modern Art, exh. cat. (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1930), nos. 236–40.
- 70. For example, Charlot visited The Met on August 7, 1936, to look at a large group of drawings by Goya that the Museum had recently acquired, Diary.
- **71.** Unidentified assistant to Charlot, November 17, 1936, DP.
- 72. Salmon (MMA 35.84); gift no. 974, September 6, 1935, DP; accepted October 21, 1935, Archives. Catalogue of prints (MMA 37.69); gift no. 1089, October 11, 1937, DP; accepted November 15, 1937, Archives.

- Mérida (MMA 38.72.1-.7); gift no. 1148, July 13, 1938, DP; accepted October 17, 1938, Archives.
- MMA 39.16.11–.28; gift no. 1173, January 10, 1939, DP; accepted February 20, 1939, Archives
- 74. Delpar, *Enormous Vogue*, pp. 162–63, 203–8.
- 75. Twenty Centuries of Mexican Art / Veinte siglos de arte mexicano, exh. cat. (New York: Museum of Modern Art in collaboration with the Mexican government, 1940), no. 145; Morse, Charlot's Prints, no. 230.
- 76. Charlot sent from Georgia two bound volumes of his progressive proofs for *Carmen* by Prosper Mérimée, see MMA 41.95(1, 2); gift no. 1344, August 21, 1941, DP; accepted October 20, 1941, Archives. From Black Mountain, he sent Mérida's *Estampas del Popol-Vuh*, see MMA 44.69; gift no. 1522, July 17, 1944, DP; accepted October 2, 1944, Archives.
- Benjamin, La Revolución, p. 75; Mary K. Coffey, How a Revolutionary Art Became Official Culture: Murals, Museums, and the Mexican State (Durham: Duke University Press, 2012).
- 78. Francisco Reyes Palma, "Utopías del desencanto / Utopias of Disenchantment," in Gritos desde el archivo. Grabado político del Taller de Gráfica Popular, Colección Academia de Artes / Shouts from the Archive. Political Prints from the Taller de Gráfica Popular, The Academia de Artes Collection, ed. Pilar García de Germenos and James Oles, exh. cat. (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2008), pp. 27–35.
- 79. Benjamin, *La Revolución*, pp. 93–96.
- 80. Smith, Power and Politics, pp. 149-63.
- 81. Lear, Picturing the Proletariat, pp. 290–307; Alison McClean, "Committed to Print: Printmaking and Politics in Mexico and Beyond, 1934–1960," in McDonald, Revolution on Paper, pp. 28–30.
- 82. El Taller de Gráfica Popular. Vida y Arte, exh. cat. (Atlanta: Georgia Museum of Art and University of Georgia, 2015); Smith, Power and Politics, pp. 163–79; Helga Prignitz, El Taller de Gráfica Popular en México, 1937–1977 (Mexico City: Instituto Nacional de Bellas Artes, 1992).
- 83. García de Germenos and Oles, *Gritos / Shouts*, p. 24.
- Dafne Cruz Porchini, Arte, propaganda y diplomacia cultural a finales del cardenismo, 1937–1940 (Mexico City: Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores, Dirección General del Acervo Histórico Diplomático, 2016), pp. 69–84.
- 85. Fernández Ledesma, "Exposition de propaganda tipográfica," Frente α Frente, July 1936, p. 22. Lear, Picturing the Proletariat, p. 191.
- 86. MMA 40.47.3(1–7) arrived as part of a gift of five posters and three portfolios. Gift no. 1245, March 30, 1940, DP; accepted April 15, 1940, Archives. A second copy of the portfolio En nombre de Cristo was acquired by The Met in 1946 (MMA 46.46.699(1–7)). See also Caplow, Leopoldo Méndez, pp. 148–51.
- 87. Mérida to Charlot, April 28, 1945, Artists biographical files (Mérida), JCC.

- 88. Charlot's diaries for this period are filled with references to social engagements with artists and his activities at the TGP; the diary for 1945 has been lost.
- 89. The progressive proofs are MMA 46.46.692; Morse, *Charlot's Prints*, pp. 257–67.
- 90. Jean Charlot, introduction to Lola Cueto, Titeres populares mexicanos (MMA 46.46.688); Jean Charlot, "Xavier Guerrero, Aztec Artist," Magazine of Art 40, no. 1 (January 1947), pp. 26–28, 34–35; Jean Charlot, prologue to Zalce portfolio (MMA 46.46.453(1–8)). See Charlot, An Artist on Art, vol. 2, pp. 183–87.
- Charlot to Mayor, April 27, 1945, DP. In his reply, Mayor thanked Charlot for the suggestion, see Mayor to Charlot, April 28, 1945, Met correspondence file, JCC.
- 92. Ivins to executive committee, June 7, 1945, DP.
- 93. Ivins to Charlot, June 27, 1945, DP. Ivins to Charlot, March 22, 1946, Met correspondence file, JCC.
- 94. See handwritten list with numbers of works by artists (no titles) to be absorbed into a fuller list once the purchase was complete, DP.
- 95. Mayor to Charlot, May 3, 1946, DP. In addition to the material being sent by mail agency through customs, some items were hand carried by Charlot's friends Elizabeth Wilder, Norman Holmes Pearson, and Marcia Brown.
- Mayor to [J.] K[enneth] Loughry, July 30, 1946, DP.
- 97. For engraving on silk (MMA 46.46.559), Mayor to Charlot, July 31, 1947, DP. For Zalce (MMA 46.46.548), Mayor to Charlot, August 28, 1946, DP. See also Mark McDonald, "Alfredo Zalce's Illustrations for El sombrerón (1946)," Print Quarterly 40, no. 1 (March 2023), pp. 52–61.
- 98. Charlot to Mayor, February 22, 1947, DP. Charlot refers to the metal plates again in a letter to Mayor, May 24, 1947, DP. During his trip to Mexico, Charlot was still pushing to get a catalogue raisonné of Posada's work published, see Charlot to D'Harnoncourt, October 12, 1945, RdH, IV.40, MoMA Archives, New York.
- 99. Mayor to Charlot, July 31, 1947, DP.
- 100. MMA 1971.643.1 is one of the few works by Posada that was not given to The Met by Charlot. It came from Jack Lord—best known for his acting role in the television series Hawaii Five-O. Lord was a friend of Charlot and a collector of his work.
- 101. Charlot to Mayor, July 12, 1949, DP.
- 102. This number does not take into account the many prints bound together; for example, the two volumes with hundreds of lithographs from nineteenth-century periodicals (MMA 46.46.546, .553). For the entire range, see MMA 46.46\* (46.46.1–.692).
- 103. Mayor to Charlot, September 29, 1947, DP.
- **104.** Mayor mentions his wish to display them in a letter to Charlot, February 13, 1947, DP.
- 105. Charlot to Mayor, October 18, 1948, DP.
- 106. Mayor to Charlot, October 25, 1948, DP.
- Mayor to Charlot, June 22, 1949, DP. Mayor to Charlot, September 22, 1949, DP.
- 108. Preface to Jean Charlot, "Mexican Prints," MMAB 8, no. 3 (November 1949), p. 81.

- 109. Charlot, "Mexican Prints," p. 84.
- 110. See, for example, MMA 46.46.413 (illustrated in the article).
- 111. See also MMA 46.46.395 and 46.46.403.
- 112. Mayor to Charlot, December 16, 1949, DP.
- 113. A complete typed list of the works included in *Mexican Prints Since* 1700 can be found in the DP exhibition file.
- 114. Jean Charlot, "Art Interpretations," *Mexican Life* 2, no. 2 (March 1926), p. 17.
- 115. MMA 60.546.1, .2; gift no. 2475, March 2, 1960, DP; accepted March 8, 1960, Archives. See also diary entry for March 1, 1960.
- 116. MMA 60.589.1–.7; gift no. 2492, May 31, 1960, DP; accepted June 14, 1960, Archives. MMA 60.713.1–.94; gift no. 2538, December 13, 1960, DP; accepted December 22, 1960, Archives. Regarding the forthcoming gift, see Charlot to Mayor, November 21, 1960, DP.
- Charlot to Dudley T. Easby Jr. (Met secretary), May 11, 1960, Archives. Charlot assumed Mayor had put his name forward, see Charlot to Mayor, November 21, 1960, Archives. On January 18, 1961, Easby confirms that Charlot has been elected a Fellow in Perpetuity, Archives. Charlot thanked The Met for confirming the appointment, see Charlot to D[udley] Easby [Jr.], February 3, 1961, Archives. On September 26, 1971, Charlot wrote to The Met requesting that his son Martin Day Charlot be made Fellow in Perpetuity as his successor; the request was confirmed in a letter from Philip Long to Charlot on February 25, 1972, Archives.
- 118. Zohmah Day Charlot to Mayor, May 23, 1961, Archives.
- 119. MMA 61.603.1–18; gift no. 2586, June 23, 1961, DP; accepted September 12, 1961, Archives.
- 120. MMA 64.645(1); gift no. 2483, October 5, 1964, DP; accepted October 19, 1964, Archives. Letter of thanks from Mayor to Charlot, September 25, 1964, Met correspondence file, JCC.
- 121. Their later correspondence has not been accessioned, but the material can be found on the Museum database online under Ref.Charlot.1. Here, we also find copies of Sheed & Ward's Own Trumpet (1951–60), a newspaper illustrated by Charlot, to which Mayor subscribed.
- **122.** Sent from Honolulu, February 28, 1972. Morse, *Charlot's Prints*, no. 637.
- **123.** Mayor to Charlot, March 12, 1972, Met correspondence file, JCC.
- **124.** Charlot to Mayor, October 13, 1976, Met correspondence file, JCC.
- **125**. Not catalogued by Morse in *Charlot's Prints*.
- 126. MMA 1984.1182.1, .2; gift no. 1182, December 18, 1984, DP. The other print was a Christmas card (MMA 1984.1182.2).

#### Acknowledgments

Many colleagues generously assisted in bringing to fruition the exhibition Mexican Prints at the Vanguard and this Bulletin that accompanies it. Max Hollein, Marina Kellen French Director and CEO, was a strong advocate for the project, and Quincy Houghton, Deputy Director for Exhibitions and International Initiatives, nurtured its evolution and found the right place for it in a busy schedule. I am grateful for the organizational skills of Christine McDermott and those of her colleagues in the Exhibitions Office, including Marci King, Melissa Klein, and Quinn Corte. From the Design Department, I wish to acknowledge Daniel Kershaw and Frank J. Mondragón in particular. Anne Blood Mann edited the text with considerable sensitivity and skill. Melissa Bowling and James Moske helped me navigate The Met Archives. Ronda Kasl, Joanne Pillsbury (Andrall E. Pearson Curator of the Arts of the Ancient Americas, The Michael C. Rockefeller Wing), and Edward J. Sullivan kindly read an earlier version of this essay. Rebecca Capua undertook the considerable task of conserving many of the works. In Development, I am especially grateful to Katherine Lester Thompson, Jennifer M. Brown, Jason Herrick, Matt Quam, and Caterina Toscano for their efforts in securing support for this exhibition and Bulletin. Nadine Orenstein, Drue Heinz Curator in Charge of the Department of Drawings and Prints, championed the project from the start, and I thank my colleagues in the department: Love Ablan, Marissa Acey, Carmen Bambach (Marica F. and Jan T. Vilcek Curator), Casey Davignon, Ashley E. Dunn, Jennifer Farrell, David del Gaizo, Clara Goldman, Jasmine Kuylenstierna, Ricky Luna, Constance McPhee, Allison Rudnick, Joanna Sheers Seidenstein, Femke Speelberg, Perrin Stein, and Elizabeth Zanis. Juan Gabriel Ramírez Bolívar, Marica and Jan Vilcek Fellow in Drawings and Prints, assisted with the final stages of the exhibition. Across the wider Museum. I am grateful to Mary F. Allen, Jennifer Bantz, Paul Booth, Iria Candela (Estrellita B. Brodsky Curator of Latin American Art, Department of Modern and Contemporary Art), Robyn Fohouo, Hamilton Guillén, Cynthia Iavarone, Mortimer Lebigre, Mark Morosse, Rachel Mustalish (Sherman Fairchild Conservator in Charge, Department of Paper Conservation), Laura Povinelli, Josephine Rodriguez, Jeff L. Rosenheim (Joyce Frank Menschel Curator in Charge, Department of Photographs), and Kate Truisi. This beautiful issue of the Bulletin was designed by Rebecca Sylvers at Miko McGinty Inc.

At the Hispanic Society of America, New York, I wish to thank Patrick Lenaghan, Head Curator of Prints, Photographs and Sculpture, for making the collections available to me and engaging with the exhibition, and Guillaume Kientz, Director and CEO. for agreeing to a loan. I am especially indebted to Malia Van Heukelem, Art Archivist Librarian, Jean Charlot Collection, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa Library, Honolulu, who facilitated my work there in early 2023 with unfailing generosity and continues to provide guidance. Before he died, in 2022, John P. Charlot helped me in the early stages of researching his father. I also thank Dafne Cruz Porchini for her kind assistance in Mexico City, and other expert colleagues, including Lynda Klich, John Lear, James Oles, Peter Schneider, Lucy Riall, and Stephanie J. Smith, for their advice and patient aid with my questions. Additionally, I am grateful to the late JoAnn Edinburg Pinkowitz and her husband, Richard Pinkowitz, for their interest in this exhibition and their inspiring passion for Mexican prints.

It is through the generosity of Jessie and Charles Price that this exhibition is made possible, and I thank them for their investment and belief in this project. We are grateful to The Schiff Foundation and The Met Americas Council for their meaningful funding provided to the exhibition. Thanks are also due to Allston Chapman, who contributed significant support to this *Bulletin* and has my sincere gratitude.

The quarterly *Bulletin* program is made possible, in part, by the Lila Acheson Wallace Fund for The Metropolitan Museum of Art, established by the cofounder of *Reader's Digest*.

#### Note to the Reader

Unless otherwise noted, all works illustrated are from the collection of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. New York.

This publication is issued in conjunction with the exhibition *Mexican Prints at the Vanguard*, on view at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, from September 12, 2024, through January 5, 2025.

A Spanish edition of this Bulletin is available from Ediciones El Viso.

The exhibition is made possible by Jessie and Charles Price.

Additional support is provided by The Schiff Foundation.

The Bulletin is made possible in part by Allston Chapman.

The Metropolitan's quarterly *Bulletin* program is supported, in part, by the Lila Acheson Wallace Fund for The Metropolitan Museum of Art, established by the cofounder of *Reader's Digest*.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin, Summer 2024

of Art, New York

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The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin (ISSN 0026-1521) is published quarterly by The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1000 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10028-0198. Periodicals postage paid at New York NY and additional mailing offices. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to Membership Department, The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin, 1000 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10028-0198. Four weeks' notice required for change of address. The *Bulletin* is provided as a benefit to Museum members and is available by subscription. Subscriptions \$30.00 a year. Back issues available on microfilm from National Archive Publishing Company, 300 N. Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106. Volumes I-XXXVII (1905-42) available as a clothbound reprint set or as individual yearly volumes from Ayer Company Publishers, Suite B-213, 400 Bedford Street, Manchester, NH 03101, or from the Metropolitan Museum, 66-26 Metropolitan Avenue, Middle Village, NY 11381-0001.

# Published by The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

Mark Polizzotti, Publisher and Editor in Chief Peter Antony, Associate Publisher for Production Michael Sittenfeld, Associate Publisher for Editorial

Editor of the *Bulletin*: Anne Blood Mann Manuscript edited by Anne Blood Mann, with Robyn Fohouo

Production by Paul Booth
Designed by Rebecca Sylvers, Miko McGinty Inc.
Image acquisitions and permissions by
Josephine Rodriguez

Typeset in Bressay and Antique No 6 by
Tina Henderson, Miko McGinty Inc.
Separations by Professional Graphics, Inc., Rockford,
Illinois

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Front cover: María Marín de Orozco, detail of *Head of a young woman*, ca. 1924 (fig. 8). Inside covers: Everardo Ramírez, detail of *Prostitute calaveras*, 1936 (fig. 47). Page 2: Attributed to Leopoldo Méndez, *Poster advertising a meeting of friends of the USSR*, 1941. Published by Taller de Gráfica Popular, Mexico City. Lithograph,  $3576 \times 26\%$  in. (90  $\times 67$  cm). The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1946 (46.46.488). Page 44: F. Piquete, detail of *El pueblo merece malos gobernantes cuando los tolera*, July 1873 (fig. 4). Back cover: Gabriel Fernández Ledesma, detail of *Poster advertising an exhibition of work by young Mexican artists held in the Retiro Park, Madrid*, 1929 (fig. 17).

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